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The Mennonite Quarterly Review

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EDITORIAL

ALTHOUGH FROM ITS EARLIEST HISTORY THE ANABAPTIST FAITH FREQUENTLY came into conflict with the state, it was not until the nineteenth century that it was confronted with actual military conscription. The coming of conscription in Europe caused the emigration of many Mennonites to America, while those who remained for the most part gradually gave up their nonresistance. The Russian Mennonites, however, are an important exception to the rule. In order to prevent the emigration of the entire Mennonite population the Russian government in 1880 inaugurated a program of forestry service as an alternative for military service, a program which was operated in a rather satisfactory manner until 1917. The United States, after trying various methods of dealing with conscientious objectors in previous wars, came to a similar solution with the inauguration of Civilian Public Service in 1940. C.P.S. has been variously appraised by the American public, by the government, and by the churches. The leading article of this issue is a report of a systematic study in which Mennonite C.P.S. men themselves appraise the system. The author of the article is Paul Albrecht, a graduate of Bethel College, who served in C.P.S. for a number of years. Part of this time was given to the research department of the Mennonite Central Committee. At the time of his discharge Albrecht was assistant general director of Mennonite C.P.S.

DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY THE PUBLIC DISPUTATION WAS A commonly used method of arriving at the "truth" concerning important religious questions. The well-known debate of Martin Luther with John Eck in 1519 is a famous illustration of this procedure. The Anabaptists also at times participated in similar debates. The article by Jan P. Matthijssen, a Mennonite student from the Netherlands now studying in Goshen College Biblical Seminary, is an analysis of the disputation between the Swiss Brethren and the Zwinglian authorities at Bern, Switzerland, in 1538.

IN THE PRESENT ISSUE JOHN C. WENGER CONTINUES HIS TRANSLATION OF important Anabaptist tracts with valuable editorial comments. Ernst Correll likewise continues his publication of documents and source dealing with the migration of Mennonites from Russia to America during the eighteen seventies. In the final article of the present issue Silas Correll likewise continues his publication of documents and sources schools and colleges.

—G. F. H.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXII No. 1

CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE EVALUATED BY CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE MEN

Paul Albrecht

Late in 1945, when Civilian Public Service was drawing to a close, a concern was expressed among men connected with the Mennonite Central Committee that adequate records of this latest attempt of the Mennonites to meet the emergencies of war and conscription should be available. It had often been felt that data on previous Mennonite experiences of this nature, such as the Mennonite experiment with a form of alternate service in Russia, would have been of considerable importance. This concern culminated in the appointment of Dr. Melvin Gingerich to write a history of Mennonite C.P.S. and in the formulation of a C.P.S. research "department" at the M.C.C. headquarters. Two C.P.S. men, John Oyer and the writer, were assigned to this project, authorization having been received from Selective Service through joint action of the Friends, Brethren, and Mennonites. Later Menno Fast and Harold Moyer were assigned to this project as replacements for the above-mentioned men, and they together with Frances Ewy prepared the tabulations of the questionnaire study.

The broad goals set for this research effort included the task of making the C.P.S. files suitable for later research, the gathering of materials such as camp publications which would be of great value, and the gathering of some objective data concerning the attitudes of men in C.P.S. toward themselves, the church, and toward the C.P.S. program. This latter project is the one which will concern

us here. Men who had come in close contact with the C.P.S. program, and of course the C.P.S. men connected with the administration of M.C.C.-C.P.S., were conscious of the fact that the men in camp had done a great deal of thinking about the program and their relation to it—indeed, had quite a few definite opinions on the matter. It was only natural that during the years which men spent in camp, they should evaluate and re-evaluate the C.P.S. program, the role of the church in this crisis, and their own beliefs in general. Furthermore, this trend was consciously fostered by the religious and educational efforts of the C.P.S. administration, probably, among other reasons, to help bring to fruition in the men a mature conviction and experience.

Those who had in thought and discussion worked on this matter of C.P.S. research felt that there should be some objective and more or less comprehensive data available concerning the attitudes, opinions, and judgments of the men in camp. It seemed that such data would be valuable to a historian of the program, and to anyone wishing to evaluate the program itself or the various methods used in administering it. The actual feelings of the men in camp were often difficult for non-campers to infer from correspondence, casual visits, the self-conscious camp publications, or the barriers of the administrator-camper relationship. Even C.P.S. men with a capacity for generalization found it difficult to characterize the program or to estimate the actual general "mind-set" of the men. Any such attempt was necessarily colored by a personal experience limited to certain camps and units. While there were broad similarities, there were also marked and definite differences between the various camps and units. Many of the camps, like other local social groups or organizations, had definite "personalities" which distinguished them from others of their kind. At any rate, when the research department began to function early in 1946, it received the recommendation that an attempt be made to secure objective data on the attitudes of C.P.S. men. It appeared that an attitude questionnaire would be the tool for this project and eventually such a questionnaire was formulated and distributed. The findings are being given in part in this presentation. The above material has been given as a brief background for those who may not be familiar with the origin of this project.

At this point an explanation of the techniques used in the study is in order. If this seems tedious, it should be remembered that the validity of a study such as this rests to a considerable extent on the way the research tools are used. Anyone wishing to attach impor-

tance to such data as we have presented here should also have access to the means used in securing them. In addition, the writer, in implementing this study, was handicapped by inexperience—this being the first research project in which he had the main responsibility. For this further reason the methods used should receive careful check. They will be mentioned in summary form below.

Those who are familiar with attitude testing will know that the written questionnaire is not considered the most reliable and valid tool. It is probably most reliably used in securing purely objective data. When subjective attitudes are being measured, a difficult task at best, there are some problems. A few might be mentioned: the test situation itself is unnatural, the correspondent may feel he is "on the spot" and may hesitate to be frank; the way questions are worded may in itself tend to lead to a certain answer; when questionnaires are mailed there is no way of discerning if the refusals have particular significance; and when a sampling technique is used, the sampling may not be truly representative. Nevertheless, the questionnaire is the only feasible tool in certain circumstances. While the questionnaire is somewhat suspect as a tool in arriving at scientific truths, one might add that compared to the haphazard and miscellaneous way in which a generalization is usually arrived at in public affairs, its careful use should provide fairly satisfactory results.

The C.P.S. questionnaire in its final form was composed of five sections: Work Project; Administration of C.P.S.; Religious Life and Peace Convictions; Education, Recreation, General Development; and Experience (personal data). Relevant questions were grouped around these headings. There was a total of sixty-six questions. As many of these questions as possible were stated in an "objective" form. Alternate answers were presented to the correspondent so that all he needed to do was to place a mark before the answer which best expressed his attitude. This was necessary to simplify the answering, to keep the correspondent from being too discouraged, and also to facilitate tabulation. Some areas in which information was desired did not lend themselves to this type of question, and in some cases the men giving their opinions were asked to write in their answers. Before being printed, the questionnaire in a mimeographed form was given to about fifty men in the Grottoes, Virginia, camp. This was supervised personally by the writer to ascertain the reaction of the men and to learn if some of the questions were ambiguous or difficult to understand. The results were tabulated to see if the areas mentioned showed a

spread of opinion and to check on the percentage of omissions. After a final revision, the questionnaire was placed in its printed form.

Obviously, it was impossible to distribute these forms to all of the men in camp and to those discharged. Some method of sampling was necessary. A sampling of 20 per cent was the one finally carried out. This sample was stratified by two factors, the Mennonite denomination and camp. That is, the sample represented 20 per cent of the total number of men in camp and of those discharged. Furthermore, the sample represented 20 per cent of each Mennonite denomination and 20 per cent of each camp or unit. In the case of the discharged men, the last consideration was disregarded. If the findings of the questionnaire are taken to be representative of all of C.P.S., the 20 per cent must really represent the total. The validity of the study to a considerable extent rests on this point. Consequently, extreme care was necessary in selecting the sample. Whether the result was completely valid and representative it is impossible to say. All that can be done is to present the method used and to let the reader be the judge.

Strictly speaking the sample was divided and considered in two categories: the men in camp and the men who had been discharged. The former received their questionnaires in person from a staff member and were really given the benefit of an interview technique. The discharged men had their forms mailed to them. These two methods will now be considered in brief fashion. The stratification for the men in camp was done by the writer. The various percentages were arrived at and allocations made. All the figures were as of February 28, 1946. The questionnaires were distributed in March. When this stratification was completed, a letter was sent to the educational director or unit leader of each camp. He was given the number of representatives desired. For instance, the unit leader of the Ypsilanti, Michigan, hospital unit was given the following figures: Central Conference Mennonite 1, Conservative Amish 1, General Conference Mennonite 4, Mennonite 7, Old Order Amish 1. Then these staff members were to list the names of all campers belonging to each of these denominations and were to draw the names of actual representatives "from the hat," assuring a random selection. The men selected were then asked to fill out the questionnaire. If they refused, no one else was to be selected. This was to keep refusals from unwittingly causing the selection of more co-operative individuals, which sample would not have been truly representative of all elements.

In general, it would seem that these techniques were carried out quite well. There were 572 questionnaires sent to men in camp, and 465 returned, for a percentage return of 81 per cent. This included a few camps which were in process of disbanding and included also the dairy farm men to whom questionnaires had to be mailed. The fact that camps were being closed, staff members were changing rapidly, and men were transferring, seriously complicated these procedures in some camps. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, the sampling was carried out uniformly. A different method was necessary for the men who had been discharged before February 28, 1946. Their questionnaires were mailed from Akron with a mimeographed cover letter. The sample was stratified here also to assure a 20 per cent sampling of the total and 20 per cent of each Mennonite denomination. However, this sample differs from the camp sample in that no attempt was made to group the discharged men by camps or types of project. The names of the men to whom questionnaires should be sent were drawn at random "from the hat." In the discharged category there were 384 questionnaires sent and 247 returned, for a percentage return of 64 per cent. These men did not have the advantage of the interview technique which could very conceivably have accounted for the lower percentage of returns. Considering the fact that these men were approached only in this impersonal manner, a rather remarkable amount of interest was shown.

Before proceeding to the findings themselves, a brief survey of the situation which obtained in March of 1946 is in order. Some of the men with long service records were discharged. Demobilization and hopes for discharge dominated the camp scene. In a way, personal morale was heightened by this hope, but already the beginnings of the dissolution of the group spirit and group morale which had characterized the war years could be seen. It was a time of uncertainty and transition. Many of the old ties still held, but the process of individualization had begun.

We come then to the data of the questionnaire. It would seem best to permit the results to speak for themselves since drawing conclusions from data is a rather subjective matter. The reader in the main will want to form his own conclusions and deductions. Listed below are some of the more pertinent questions and the grand total percentages for each possible answer. It will be remembered that 956 questionnaires were sent out and 712 returned. The questions below are grouped under subject headings for clarity. The section number and question number preceding each question

will permit the reader to see where the question was placed in the body of the questionnaire. Section I being concerned with the Work Project; II with Administration of C.P.S.; III with Religious Life and Peace Convictions; and IV with Education, Recreation, General Development. The "omitted" answer category indicates that the man or men left this particular question unanswered.

The breakdown of statistics to show how the various Mennonite groups and various C.P.S. project groups responded appears on the tabulations but cannot be given in detail here. Some generalizations will be mentioned briefly later. Also there will appear a few generalizations concerning the subjective or write-in questions which appeared in the questionnaire. Those readers who may be interested in studying the statistics in more detail will find the tabulations in the M.C.C. files.

WORK PROJECT:

I. 1. Do you think the work you did in C.P.S. is:

generally significant	70%
generally insignificant	14%
undecided	13%
omitted	3%

I. 8. You have some personal skills and abilities. In C.P.S. do you feel these:

were not used sufficiently	29%
were used quite well	56%
were not adequate for your job	9%
omitted	6%

I. 7. Men in camp discussed work projects a good deal. In your opinion, were these evaluations of C.P.S. projects by the men:

too high	5%
about right	53%
too low	36%
omitted	6%

I. 4. There is a list of C.P.S. projects below. Please consider all the projects, not just the ones in which you were engaged. Rate the C.P.S. projects you consider most significant in service to your fellow men No. 1, next most significant No. 2, and place No. 3 before the project you think ranks third in significance. (The projects below are given in the order listed by the men and show the percentage of men who marked them either for the first, second, or third ranks.)

Mental Hospital Service	29%
Public Health & Rehabilitation (Puerto Rico)	15%
Public Health Service	13%
Guinea Pig Projects	10%
Omitted	6%
Soil Conservation Service	5%
General Hospital Service	5%

Dairy Farm Service	4%
Smoke Jumper Project	4%
Forest Service	3%
Land Reclamation Projects	2%
Experimental Farm Service	2%
Dairy Testing and Artificial Insemination Projects	1%
National Park Service	1%

QUESTION OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION OF C.P.S.:

II. 1. After the universal draft law had been passed, the peace churches chose to operate C.P.S. camps under government direction instead of having a system of government camps. Do you think this decision:

was wise	70%
unwise	8%
didn't make much difference	3%
undecided	17%
omitted	2%

ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS:

II. 2. Selective Service suggests some rules for the operation of C.P.S. camps that limit our freedom. Should we follow them:

only where we feel we have to	15%
follow what they suggest	53%
restrict ourselves more than they ask to prove our sincerity	20%
undecided	10%
omitted	2%

II. 4. Let us say that Selective Service has a policy that we consider unfair, although it does not force us to violate our conscience. In your opinion, should we:

accept the policy and try to live by it	41%
try by persuasion to change the policy and if this fails accept it	40%
refuse to follow the policy in order to make S.S. change it	5%
undecided	12%
omitted	2%

II. 5. The M.C.C. chose to follow the suggested rules of Selective Service about leaves. Do you think these rules:

limit our freedom too closely	15%
are about right	78%
permit us too much freedom	1%
undecided	4%
omitted	2%

THE PAY QUESTION:

II. 3. Do you think that people in general consider C.P.S. men more sincere because they work without pay?

Yes	73%
No	17%

Undecided	8%
Omitted	2%

II. 6. If you could have received a wage corresponding to army base pay, what would you have done?

Taken the pay	53%
Refused the pay	14%
Undecided	31%
Omitted	2%

MENNONITE HERITAGE AND NONRESISTANCE:

III. 14. As a result of C.P.S. do you think your appreciation of your Mennonite heritage has:

increased	66%
remained about the same	28%
decreased	2%
omitted	4%

III. 16. As a result of C.P.S. has your understanding of the doctrine of nonresistance:

become more clear	81%
stayed the same	13%
become more confused	3%
omitted	3%

III. 17. If you were being drafted again for the same program, which position would you take?

I-A	1%
I-AO	2%
IV-E	81%
Refuse to report for induction	7%

(The following categories written in by men)

Refuse to register	1%
Undecided	6%
Omitted	2%

RELATION TO CHURCH AND HOME COMMUNITY:

III. 6. You learned to live with men of different denominations and of different Mennonite groups and to understand their beliefs. Now as a result of C.P.S. do you hold to the doctrine of your own church:

more strongly	46%
about the same	39%
less strongly	9%
undecided	4%
omitted	2%

II. 7. Men from all the various Mennonite groups were placed together in M.C.C. camps. Thinking of your own Mennonite group do you feel the results:

will be beneficial	67%
won't make much difference	15%

will be harmful 9%
undecided 6%
omitted 3%

III. 10. Let us suppose you lived in a community where there was no Mennonite Church. After being in C.P.S. would you be:

more inclined to join another denomination 19%
less inclined 32%
about as you were before 42%
omitted 7%

III. 7. Do you think your home congregation understood your experience in camp:

about as well as could be expected 48%
not as well as they should have 47%
omitted 5%

III. 13. Do you feel that you have gained in C.P.S. some understanding of the Christian life that your home church needs?

Yes 77%
No 7%
Undecided 12%
Omitted 4%

CAMP PROBLEMS:

II. 12. As a result of group living in camp there were problems to be solved. In your experience did:

the staff try to solve too many of the problems themselves 29%
staff and campers work together about right 49%
campers have to solve too many of the problems themselves 6%
undecided 13%
omitted 3%

II. 11. Some camps had camp councils to help solve camp problems. In your opinion did this:

work very well 26%
help a little 44%
not make much difference 14%
do more harm than good 5%
undecided 7%
omitted 4%

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT:

III. 2. Think of the importance of personal devotions in your life. Do you think this:

has increased 55%
remained about the same 35%
decreased 7%
omitted 3%

III. 8. Think of your personal part in the religious program of the camp or unit. Were you asked to take part:

more than you liked 10%
about as you would have liked 77%

not as much as you would have liked	8%
omitted	5%

IV. 3. Think of the amount of reading you did before C.P.S. and what you did in camp or hospital. In C.P.S. did you:

read more	59%
about as much	29%
less	9%
omitted	3%

IV. 7. Have you learned any craft or hobby in C.P.S. that you intend to continue after C.P.S.?

Yes	32%
No	60%
Omitted	8%

If the answer is "yes" which do you intend to continue: (The principal ones mentioned are listed below. These percentages apply to the "yes" group above, not to total number of men.)

Leathercraft	48%
Photography	12%
Woodworking	11%
Rugweaving	7%
Carpentry	2%
Barbering	2%

IV. 16. When you think of your life vocation, do you think the time you have spent in C.P.S.:

will be of value to your life vocation	57%
won't make much difference	25%
will have been a loss to it	8%
undecided	6%
omitted	4%

It was mentioned previously that the C.P.S. evaluation questionnaire contained some questions of a subjective nature in which the participants were asked to write in their answers. This type of question is less amenable to an easy statistical analysis. However, a few presentable results are briefly given below. The men were asked to state three things they appreciated most about the C.P.S. program, and three things they appreciated least. Certain general reaction categories are discernible. When the men listed the things they appreciated most in C.P.S., the largest cluster of replies centered around the idea of appreciation of other denominations, backgrounds, and viewpoints. The next largest appreciation category concerned the religious services and the emphasis on religious life, and another cluster was centered around the advantage of travel that C.P.S. afforded.

When a list of the things that were appreciated least is made the "insignificant work" is found at the top. This appears to be

somewhat difficult to reconcile with the 70 per cent in a previous question who felt their work was "generally significant." Perhaps they judged their work by a higher standard in this question! Also high on the list appear "griping" and what the men characterized as "insincere" and "inconsistent" attitudes and behaviour on the part of their fellow C.P.S. citizens. A few of the questions asked the men to give a constructive suggestion concerning one aspect of the program or other. Apparently only a small amount of realistically imaginative thinking was carried on. For instance: the men were asked to list one project that they would have liked to have seen become a part of the Civilian Public Service program. Fifty-two per cent omitted the question entirely, and 25 per cent listed foreign relief, which was, so to speak, an official M.C.C. desire for the program. The rest of the suggestions were interesting but quite miscellaneous. Many projects listed as desired were already part of the C.P.S. program. One person with perhaps more of an eye for travel than for civilian work wanted to see the men engaged in building the Alaskan highway. To pursue the point a bit further—when asked to list one improvement that could have been made in the camp religious program, 45 per cent omitted the question. And when asked to list one type of course or activity that they would have liked to have seen added to the educational program, 43 per cent omitted it entirely.

As has been mentioned previously, the breakdown of the statistics into the various groups of the stratification becomes a bit detailed and involved for the purposes of this discussion. However, certain general impressions may lead the way to the nature of these more detailed results of the project. The main impression one gets concerns the quite generally uniform nature of the results. There is really only a small difference between the groups, particularly on the questions of major significance concerning the value of the work and the church administration of C.P.S. The project stratification divided the men into groups who on February 28, 1946, were in the discharged category, in base camps, in hospitals, on dairy farms, or in some way on detached service with the M.C.C. headquarters. In a very general and loose sense, one might say that the headquarters and dairy farm groups were high in their endorsement of the C.P.S. program and that the hospital group was also quite favorably inclined toward it. The base camp group tended to be somewhat lower in endorsement and more critical of the existing system. The discharged group by and large fell between these two poles.

The various Mennonite denominational groups also showed a good deal of uniformity in their answers. The stratification included all Mennonite groups who had men in C.P.S. and also the Hutterian Brethren. Several precautions, however, should be noted by any who might be interested in using these statistics. The findings are really valid for only the five or six larger groups. In the smaller groups the number is so small that it would not be wise to make broad conclusions from the data given. Then, too, the groups with the lowest educational background, such as the Old Order Amish and the Church of God in Christ Mennonite, showed a higher percentage in the "undecided" or "omitted" classifications. This needs to be borne in mind in order to evaluate correctly the percentages given for these groups. On the basic questions of the evaluation of the significance of the work project, and the desirability of church administration of C.P.S. we find, loosely speaking, that the "conservatively" and "progressively" oriented groups registered almost the same reactions. There was, according to this study, about the same amount of endorsement and criticism from the various groups. In the matter of attitude toward the government camp regulations and in the affairs of camp democratic living, however, it might be said that the conservative groups were slightly less critical of the existing organization and method. The other differences arose in specific situations each of which would need to be analyzed separately. The examination of denominational attitudes on the two questions concerning pay partially shows how these differences appear:

II. 3. Do you think that people in general consider C.P.S. men more sincere because they work without pay? (Those who answered: yes.)

Mennonite	73%
General Conference Mennonite	80%
Old Order Amish	69%
Mennonite Brethren	72%

II. 6. If you could have received a wage corresponding to army base pay, what would you have done? (Those who said they would have taken the pay:)

Mennonite	56%
General Conference Mennonite	66%
Old Order Amish	16%
Mennonite Brethren	59%

The striking fact here is that the Amish group shows much less inclination to accept pay if it would have been offered. However, judging from the preceding question it doesn't appear to stem from

their feeling of its effect on other people or on the government. Furthermore, it needs to be borne in mind that an unusually large number of the Amish (46 per cent) listed themselves as undecided on the question of acceptance of pay for their C.P.S. work. The analysis need proceed no further here. As one can see, several factors must be taken into consideration and when the process is multiplied by a large number of questions, broad generalizations concerning the various Mennonite groups are not easily inferred.

The evaluation of the data in a study such as this is a subjective and critical matter in which the student of the Mennonite experience in World War II will want to engage, if he feels this study merits his consideration. The findings will, of course, appear to give somewhat different impressions to people who start with differing presuppositions concerning the program. To one who assumes that C.P.S. was a very constructive answer to the war-draft emergency, the amount of criticism expressed by the men may seem alarming. To one highly critical of the program, a quite different impression would appear. It would seem to the writer, leaving the method of observation for that of evaluation, that there are two generalizations which present themselves. One concerns the quite remarkable uniformity among the various groups, project and denominational, that was shown throughout; and the other concerns the quite general endorsement of the C.P.S. program that appears.

The question naturally arises: Is this, then, the true picture of the camp situation as it existed in C.P.S.? An answer hinges on the validity of the study, of course. But apart from this there appear several considerations which should be borne in mind in evaluating this data. First, this questionnaire study did not include the non-Mennonite men who in many camps had a real effect on the total camp life. This would have constituted an interesting study in itself. Such a research project might have provided the Mennonites with a very unique opportunity to see themselves in the eyes of people outside the denomination, but of people who had lived in close contact with products of Mennonite homes. Secondly, this is a quantitative, not a qualitative study. The obvious tone of a group, and to some extent the real tone, often could be attributed more to a few aggressive persons than to a broad mass of opinion. Consequently, the camp mood might in some cases conceivably have fallen to either side of the expressed majority opinion. To be sure, it is correct to assume that if these opinions of the leaders were so definitive in the situation they would have been reflected in the thinking of the more submissive majority, but not entirely so. Which leads to another point.

One of the faults of the questionnaire is that it causes the correspondent to register his attitude in an artificial situation. He is, so to speak, abstracted from his usual manner of expressing himself. If one may be pardoned for getting a bit psychological, one might say that the attitudes registered on the questionnaire represented the attitudes and thoughts of the man as he, in the light of his own reflection, judged them to be. It need not appear too subtle to say that this did not always correlate with the premises upon which the man operated in a concrete spontaneous situation, one in which he was often confronted with strong leadership and in which his desire for status would appear.

Lastly for certain purposes of comparison there is a gap in this study. For a really objective evaluation of the effect of C.P.S. upon the thinking of the men there should have been some comparable study made early in the program. This would not only have tended to cancel out some of the evils of the questionnaire as mentioned in the paragraph above, but would also have provided a more objective basis for showing the change in thinking due to the stay in camp. In the part of the questionnaire that dealt with this change, this study had to rely on the man's subjective opinion of how his attitude had changed.

It is hoped that this study may be of some aid in evaluating the experience of Mennonite conscientious objectors in World War II, and also as a means of supplying Mennonites with a small mirror with which they can get a little clearer picture of themselves.

THE BERN DISPUTATION OF 1538

Jan P. Matthijssen

I. THE MANUSCRIPT

Bande 80 der Unnützen Papiere (Volume 80 Useless Papers) in the state archives of the canton Bern, Switzerland, is a manuscript containing the original protocols of a debate, held in the city of Bern in 1538, under the name: *Acta Des Gesprächs zwüschenn Predicanntenn vnnd Touffbruderenn Ergangen, Inn der Statt Bernn von xja Mertzeuns, bisz of den XVIja Desselben Monats Inn MDXXXVIIIlten* Jar (Acts of the debate between the ministers and Anabaptists, held in the city of Bern, from March 11th to March 17th of the year 1538).

In 1912 a typewritten, exact copy of this manuscript was made and checked by Prof. Dr. Turler, the state archivist. This copy which came with the John Horsch collection into the possession of the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College served as the basis for this paper.

The language used during the Bern debate was the sixteenth century Swiss dialects of the German language. The manuscript contains many dialects used at the same time, since the participants came from several parts of Switzerland and even from South Germany. Furthermore, the participants had different cultural backgrounds which were also expressed in their language. Spelling had not been standardized; hence we frequently find the same word written in a variety of ways. These facts in themselves make the reading of the protocol hard, but it is made almost impossible by the absolute lack of a punctuation system. This leaves it up to the reader to decide on the length and even the meaning of many sentences, and makes entire passages almost incomprehensible. A translation would thus not only be hard to accomplish, but also, because of its inevitable subjectivity, of a questionable and relative value.

The debate was sponsored by the *Schulltheis* (parliament) of the canton Bern and was presided over by four members of the parliament, representing both of its houses. Two reporters completed the administrative staff. Participants were the three Zwinglian ministers of the city of Bern and two church officials of each *cappittell* (church district) of the canton, usually one of them being a deacon. Thus on the Zwinglian side twenty people participated,

and as a kind of mascot, a former Anabaptist leader attended the meetings also. The Anabaptists had invited five of their leaders from outside the canton and had under certain conditions secured from the city council a safe conduct for these foreigners. They were not to speak with anyone outside the debate rooms. They entered the city at ten o'clock on the Sunday evening before the debate started, and were required to leave the territory immediately after the debate was over. Besides these five, who were the chief spokesmen, thirty-six others attended, all of whom were citizens of the canton, and of whom only one, after the debate was over, accepted the invitation to return to the Zwinglian church. A study of the names of the participants would be an interesting exercise. It is clear that many of these Anabaptist names are in existence to this day among Mennonites, while the absence of other names today may be an indication that these families died out through persecution or by other means, or that the names have been changed unrecognizably. Among the Anabaptists the name of Hans Lütty deserves special mention. According to the reporters he was one of the most important men of the canton and from the highest social class, thus once more disproving the theory that the Anabaptist movement found its origin and reason for existence only among the lower classes.

The debate was opened on Monday morning, March 11, 1538, with prayer and an opening address. Beyond this only the registration of participants was accomplished during the first half day. The afternoon was spent discussing the first article and part of the second. Tuesday through Saturday were spent discussing the remainder of the articles, each day beginning with common prayer. After a concluding address from both sides on Saturday night, the participants were urged to be present on Sunday afternoon, March 17, to hear the decisions of the presidents and the final results of the debate. The articles discussed were:

1. *Ob Nuw, vnnd alltt Testamment, Ein testamment vnnd inn eim wertt sye, wieuil es gälldte, oder nitt gelltte, vnnd vffgehept, oder nitt vffgehapt sye.* (Pages 16-23). (The question of the unity of the New and Old Testaments, their relative value and authority.) 2. *Der Senndung, oder Beruffs zum Predig ampt beidertheillenn, wer die Recht vocation habe,* (Pages 24-83). (The mission and calling to the ministry of both sides: which has the true calling?) *Der khilchennhalb, wer die Recht khilchenn hab, Ob sy hie inn disem Zytt ane Sünd Sye oder nitt,* (Pages 84-123). (Which of the two sides has the true church, and is the church to be sinless

here and now?) 4. *Khinderthouffs, ob der Christennlich sye,* (Pages 123-198). (Infant baptism: is it Christian?) 5. *Eyd Schwerenn, Ob ein Christ, ein Rechtgeschaffnen warenn Eyd thun möge,* (Pages 199-231). (The oath: can a Christian take an honest, true oath?) 6. *Ob ein Christ Ein Oberer Sin Möge,* (Pages 231-260). (Whether a Christian can serve as an official of the state.) 7. *Des Bannshalb, wie der brucht, vnnd inn welliches theills khilchenn er Recht gehallttenn werde,* (Pages 261-301). (The ban: how it ought to be used and which of the two churches uses it correctly.)

Bible texts were freely used and referred to with great ease by both parties, but since the division of the Bible into verses was not in general use in those days, only chapters are mentioned. It would have been worth while to search out the corresponding Bible verses and even to check on differences between the different Bibles used by the two parties. This laborious task, however, was not undertaken. An index of the subjects and names dealt with in the protocol would also be of value. John Horsch, the only previous person to examine this document, began work on such an index and his notes, though incomplete, are to be found in the back part of the manuscript.

II. EVALUATION

According to the official statements in the foreword of the report, the idea of this debate originated with the Swiss Brethren, during discussions which some of them had had with the local Zwinglian minister at Honnstetten. If this statement is true the originators certainly did not anticipate the procedure which was used. The management of the debate, its course and procedure, and its final decision were entirely in the hands of the Bern officials, who were in close collaboration with the Zwinglian church. Thus the decision was virtually determined even before the debate began, in spite of the announced purpose: "to find together the truth."

Another feature throws an interesting light on the conditions under which the debate was conducted, as well as on the state of mind of the Zwinglian party, and supports the assumption that the final outcome of the debate was determined even before the debate started. This is the fact that the Anabaptists were required to acknowledge the authority of the city council as a Christian authority, in spite of the fact that this issue was the subject of one of the articles to be discussed during the debate. It would be interesting to know exactly what the Anabaptists expected to achieve through this debate. The most probable purpose was to show the Zwing-

lians and the world that they were right, and had the best interpretation of God's truth. Supposedly the direct result of this would have been the cessation of persecution. Beyond this we can do no more than engage in some interesting speculations. Imagine for example, the problems arising if the state church with its nominal membership had been induced to accept the idea of a voluntary church of true believers, and that in a time when the church was the center of life and thought in the most universal sense! The likelihood of a favorable outcome for the Anabaptists, however, was very small. The learned "Predicannten," headed by Doctor Sebastian Meyer, certainly had a great advantage over these unlearned laymen. And they used this advantage wherever they could! Furthermore they had the sure feeling of being supported by the state authorities.

The Anabaptists knew that if the result of the debate would not be in their favor, their fate would be sealed and persecution would increase. It seems very improbable to me that they would have taken this unreasonably great risk. In the course of my study of this manuscript, and especially of the prologue and epilogue, I could not escape the impression that the whole debate was a theaterpiece, staged and enacted in a masterful way by the city council of Bern, stimulated by the Zwinglian clergy. Certainly the purpose was not the one mentioned: "to find together the truth" and to learn the other's position, since each side was convinced that it had the truth, and the other's position must have been known long before. The Anabaptists had all been Zwinglians, and on the occasion of their leaving this church to join the Anabaptist movement they had certainly explained their position and given their reasons for the same. Furthermore there had been several previous debates (this one was supposed to be the continuation of the one at Zoffingen in 1532) and each side had published many pamphlets and other writings to attack the position of the other side and to defend its own. Besides, since the beginning of the movement there had been much persecution, which could not have been carried through before the forum of the world without a supposedly good reason, though the actual reason may have been the fact that a state church could not accept any dissension nor separation in its territory. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the final conclusion was known long before the debate started, and that the debate merely served the purpose of providing a legal basis for the persecution. An interesting aspect of the procedure is the fact that during the debate the Anabaptists were spoken of and

addressed as Touffbrüdern (Baptist-brethren); but after the actual debate, as a part of denunciation, and because they were not willing after ample proof from the side of the Zwinglian debaters to accept the "Biblical" teachings, they were called the Töuffer (Baptists), the suffix "brethren" not being appropriate for these heretics.

The attitude of the Zwinglian ministers is in some cases really amusing. With their training they tried to bluff the Anabaptist laymen. During the discussion of the oath, for example, they mentioned the fact that in Latin there is a slight difference between taking an oath and swearing, and attempted to support their argument by expressly mentioning that the Anabaptists, of course, were not able to have an opinion in this matter. Again they used stubbornly their knowledge of formal logic in matters where logic was absolutely out of place. For example, they used logic to force their adversaries to admit that those who forsake the Anabaptist church do not commit a mortal sin; and then argued that since forsaking the true church actually is a mortal sin (a pure assumption!) the Anabaptist church apparently was not a true church.

However, in some instances when it fitted into their framework, they also could be very illogical. My chemistry professor used to declare that water (H_2O) is not ionized; but whenever it was to his advantage to do so, he declared it to be ionized, although only in a very low degree. Thus the "Predicannten": "Old Testament and New Testament are one" in one case, and "Old Testament and New Testament are not one" in another case; or "The Bible is to be interpreted literally" in one case; and "The Bible is not to be interpreted literally" in another case. When necessary they even abandon their own theology to win an argument on a minor issue. Thus, in one instance they say: "All that is not prohibited in the Scriptures, is allowed"; but this is exactly the opposite of their official position. They also exhausted fully and in their favor the apparent confusion in the Anabaptist conception of sin, and especially of mortal sin. The Zwinglians, of course, were safeguarded against occasions like this, backed but also bound as they were by their training, study, and creed. A final illustration is found in the fact that the Zwinglians again and again presented the two Anabaptist leaders who previous to the debate had come back into the Zwinglian church, and the one who did the same after the debate was over, as an argument for the truth of their cause, not counting, however, the forty Anabaptist leaders present at the debate, all of whom had once belonged to the Zwinglian church. From the faithful reports of the two secretaries (here it is in order to give full

credit to these men, who with a very few exceptions, gave an exact verbal report of the often long-winded and tiresome addresses and discussions, as well as to the four presidents, who administered the debate in an absolutely impartial way) we can learn the exact positions, and explanations thereof, of both parties.

It is interesting to see how each party seized upon the weak points in the adversary's argument and especially how each attempted to prove the unchristianity of the other church, and thus as an only alternative affirming the truth of its own. Neither side seemed to listen to the arguments of the other, or to the other's refutation of its own arguments. Thus an infinite talking on different levels was the result, only using the same words for different interpretations of the same ideas. Therefore they came back time and again with the very same arguments after endless refutations. It is easy to see why they could agree on only the first of the seven points discussed, and even there on inconceivable grounds. During the discussion on this article, and especially later in the debate, it becomes clear that exactly on this point (the unity and authority of the Old and New Testaments) there is no agreement, nor identity of position at all; and after closer analysis this proves to be the reason for the differences of opinion on the other issues. One actually gets the impression that both parties, knowing approximately the adversary's position, drew up all of their part in the discussions in advance, and presented this in the presence of, but not at all influenced by, as far as its contents is concerned, the other party.

My evaluation of the arguments used, as well as that of the positions held, is found in the digest in parts III and IV. I have attempted to represent the meaning of the parties in an absolutely honest way, without additions, omissions, or changes of an essential nature. However, one will look in vain for the actual words of the debaters, or even for their outline or order of arguments, since these have been abandoned entirely. This was necessary in order to give a clear representation. As for the meaning, value, and importance of this debate, it must be said that it did not change world or church history in any important way. That is clear when we consider the fact that few people know of the debate, and that the original manuscript has been catalogued in the state archives of the canton Bern under the general heading "Useless Documents." Neither does the study of the debate produce any new theological ideas or developments. But for the student of Mennonite or church history this is an excellent way to get acquainted with the positions held by the two parties on the issues of difference.

If my assumption, that the debate merely served the purpose of providing the city council with an excuse for further persecution, is right, then the debate actually fulfilled its purpose, at least in the eyes of the city council. If the Anabaptists had hoped to gain anything by this debate, or at least to acquire some toleration, they must have been disappointed. The conclusion of the presidents, as arbiters, was that the Anabaptists were heretics, who could not be suffered to dwell in the canton. Therefore, in the name of the city council, the five foreigners were told to leave the canton immediately. The citizens of Bern, who had been expelled before, had to leave the territory immediately also; and those who were sentenced the first time were granted the least possible time to see their families, sell their property, and leave the country. If these demands were not complied with, or if the convicted men returned to the canton, the death sentence would be applied without delay.

III. THE ZWINGLIAN THEORY

Article I: Old and New Testament

The Old Testament has as the proclamation and prophecy of Jesus Christ the same value as the New Testament. There is a strong unity and continuity. However, this does not mean identity, and great care should be taken to avoid confusion, by mixing up Old and New Testament theology. The contents of the Old Testament may be divided as follows: 1. Prophecy concerning the Messiah. 2. Moral law (the Ten Commandments). 3. Penal law. 4. Ceremonial law. The prophecy concerning the Messiah consists of the prophets and the poetry (Psalms, Job, etc.). These as well as the moral law have their original authority even in our days. The penal law has now been delegated to the God-fearing earthly powers and authorities. They are not obligated, however, to enforce the Mosaic law and penal-code in its exact Old Testament form, inasmuch as conditions and circumstances have changed since the days of Moses.

It may be well to consider in this context, declared the Zwinglians, that Jesus never prohibited the use of physical punishments and we take for granted that what is not prohibited in the Bible, may be taken to be permitted. The ceremonial law finally has been abolished in Christian liberty.

Article II: The Ministry

Abraham's seed is the true Israel, is the body of believers, is God's own chosen people. Adam and all the saints of the Old

Testament were the Old Testament church. Even in the darkest days of Israel's existence, there were always true believers (Elijah and 7000 others). Christ did not establish a new church, but He purged and reformed the old one. Since then also there have always been true Christians in the Christian church, even under the Pope. Hidden and under the surface, there have been many fighting the errors and mistakes and false teachings of the papal church (e.g., the Hussites). But God knows every one of them. This means that there has always been but one church, led by the Holy Spirit, and with Christ as its head. The guidance of the Holy Spirit constrained the Reformation to purge the church and to abolish the Pope, the mass, images, etc. This was purely a doctrinal Reformation. There is one straight line from Adam, via Abraham, Moses, and Christ, down through the ages to the Zwinglian church of today, which is at the present the only true church. This has clearly been proved by the fact that it revived the true Gospel of Jesus Christ and purged the church, which can be done only under the leadership of the Holy Spirit.

Assuming this, it is clear that the Anabaptists (taught in the true religion and saved from the papacy by the Zwinglians!) can be neither the true church, nor a true church. The Holy Spirit is with the Zwinglian church; therefore He cannot be with the Anabaptists, who are only a sect. This sect does only harm to the cause of the Reformation (e.g., Münster just a few years ago, and the teachings of Melchior Hofmann). Furthermore, it draws its membership largely from the best of the members of the Zwinglian churches. They went out from the true church, for lack of patience, and are proclaiming all kinds of radical novelties. With this background, it is clear that they cannot have ministers, since they cannot have the right, divine calling and mission.

The two kinds of calling, ordained by God, are: 1. Priesthood (Levites), and 2. Apostles and their successors, called by God and verified by miracles. The Zwinglian ministers *(predicannten)* are the priests of the church, which was from the beginning, and which even today is the only true Christian church, guided by the Holy Spirit. The Anabaptist ministers on the contrary, in spite of their supposedly pious and holy living (which after all is not essential in the ministry, since this is only a tool in the hands of God, and thus may be unholy), have no true calling and mission, because they do not constitute a true church, but are merely a sect.

Article III: The Church

The church is the body, the community, the fellowship of believers. Original sin places even sinless believers in a sinner's position over against God. However, our sins have already been paid for by Christ on Calvary. Moreover, desires to which one does not yield (and everybody is tempted by desires) are sin. Thus every Christian is constantly sinning, and the church cannot be without sin (e.g., the tares in the field; Judas with the eleven disciples). Consequently the Anabaptists have sin among them. This means that they lose the basis of their separation, since the existence of sin in the Zwinglian church supposedly forced them to leave it. The Anabaptists argue that in the Zwinglian church sin is not punished according to the truth. The fact is that known sinners are actually punished, and unknown sinners certainly will not escape the wrath of God in the day of His judgment.

There are two kinds of sin: 1. Mortal sin, and 2. Forgivable sin. Mortal sin is sin against the Holy Spirit, a conscious denying of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of God and His truth. Thus ignorant people cannot commit a mortal sin. God's elect people, even after knowing Christ, commit sins; but no longer against the Holy Spirit. Those who are rejected by God and engage in sin deserve eternal death. The elect, however, may fall, but do not fall out of God's hands. According to this definition of mortal sin, those who forsake the true church sin against the Holy Spirit. According to the statements of the Anabaptists themselves, however, forsaking their church is not a mortal sin which is ample proof that theirs is not the true church.

Article IV: Baptism

Concerning the sacrament of baptism, one should remember above all that it is the grace of God which works everything. Children were under the covenant in the Old Testament. Thus children are under the covenant in the New Testament. The New Testament records only the baptism of adults, but this does not exclude the possibility of pedobaptism, since we do not have a complete record in the New Testament. The Bible nowhere prohibits the baptism of children: therefore this is not contrary to Christ's teaching. Logically it is in accord with Christ's teaching, for He says, "Suffer the little children to come unto me." We must also remember that we cannot imitate the Lord in everything. Baptism is a spiritual circumcision, an outward symbol. The fact that Christ was baptized when He was thirty years old, does not prove any-

thing, because at the time of His childhood baptism was not yet known. The Lord's Supper of the New Testament replaced the Old Testament Passover. In the same way the New Testament baptism replaced the Old Testament circumcision. Thus baptism is the New Testament form of the Old Testament circumcision.

The problem that the girls in the Old Testament were also under the covenant and yet were not circumcised, is no difficulty at all, because: 1. Girls were not supposed to shed any blood. 2. Original sin is present only in human "seed." 3. Each woman was righteous by the possibility of becoming the mother of the Messiah. 4. In Christ there is no difference. 5. Contrary to nature. Church tradition together with what we know about the Church Fathers, who were in close contact with the Apostles, affirm and support the cause of child-baptism. Again, children are in the covenant and the Holy Spirit is working in them. Luther said: "Whosoever does not have faith, is condemned." Children are not condemned, however; hence they must have faith, even if it is as small as a mustard seed. Children are God's; consequently they have the Holy Spirit and should be baptized. Salvation without the Holy Spirit is impossible; hence if children are saved they must have the Holy Spirit and should be baptized. Teaching before baptism is necessary only in the cases of adult converts. Abraham was ninety years of age when he was circumcised; Ishmael, thirteen years; and Isaac but eight days.

Summarizing: 1. Baptism is a symbol of the believing church. 2. Children belong to the believing church. 3. Children should be baptized. 4. The Great Commission referred to everyone. 5. The Apostles baptized entire households. 6. The Church Fathers baptized children. 7. The inner second birth actually takes place in the lives of children; why not give them baptism which is the outward symbol of it?

Article V: The Oath

Great care should be taken in the matter of the oath, to avoid separation and even contradiction between the Old Testament and the New Testament, between Moses and Jesus. Even in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus does not contradict Moses. In Matthew 5, Jesus deals primarily with the excessive use of mental reservation on the part of the Pharisees. He cannot be speaking at all here about the oath in general, since nowhere in the Mosaic law is there any reference to the oath in general, but only to the taking of a false oath.

A false oath has been prohibited explicitly, thus assuming the right oath to be allowed. Exegesis is no luxury here. In Latin there is a subtle but clarifying difference between the oath and swearing. On account of perverted human nature the oath has been ordained and introduced into society. Even Paul and Christ themselves took the oath, as well as did Abraham. To confirm truth with truth is allowed. To do so is to confirm truth with God. And that is exactly the definition, the meaning and the nature of the oath. Thus it is clear that also on this point Old Testament and New Testament are not two, but one. The oath is Christian. Yes, one could even go as far as to say that where there is no oath, Christ is not there either.

Article VI: The State

Again it will be well to consider the strong unity of the Old Testament and New Testament. And continuing with the same line it will be well to avoid any dualism between flesh and spirit. Man is flesh and spirit. The sword of the state is a natural (to the flesh) necessity. Christ established a spiritual kingdom and as Christians we are citizens both of His kingdom and of the earthly state in which we live. Besides, what is worldly is not necessarily evil. State authorities are ordained by God and Christian authorities are not evil, but good. For the sake of the flesh Christ allowed the state to continue its existence. In Christ's spiritual kingdom spiritual weapons are used against spiritual evil. In the same way in the worldly, natural state, natural worldly weapons are used against worldly sins. Even the Sermon on the Mount is not at all in contradiction with Old Testament conditions. It only opposes false additions and interpretations to the law. Unbelievers cannot work anything to their salvation; neither can they do anything good at all. The state authorities, however, do good works; hence they must be Christian.

Article VII: The Ban

The world can be divided into three parts: 1. Believers. 2. Unbelievers. 3. Not-yet-believers. We are in the world, yet not of the world. The origin of the ban is to be found in Israel. Israel was occupied by the Romans and was not allowed to execute the death sentence, which was necessary for the enforcement of its law. Hence the ban was established as the next most severe means of law enforcement. Christ accepted this ban, however, only if executed in Christian love. That is the way it should be done in the Christian church. However, it is not always possible to punish with

love (e.g., in cases of heresy). Legalism is always wrong. The Christian ban means to build, not to destroy. If the ban is used in love, to build, to create faith, the church may even deviate from the letter of the law. The church should exercise loving patience, leaving the weeds on the field until the day of harvest, to promote a progressive reformation. (Oecolampad introduced the kind of ban generally used by the Anabaptists, but soon had to retract it to avoid a revolution.) Do not dream of an ideal church, but take into consideration the prevailing conditions among the believers and in the world about them.

IV. THE ANABAPTIST THEORY

Article I: Old and New Testament

We believe in and consider ourselves under the authority of the Old Testament, in so far as it is a testimony of Christ; in so far as Jesus did not abolish it; and in so far as it serves the purpose of Christian living. We believe in and consider ourselves under the authority of the Law in so far as it does not contradict the new law, which is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We believe in and consider ourselves under the authority of the prophets in so far as they proclaim Christ. We believe in Biblical, Christian discipline; but physical penalties are out of the question. Instead we believe in the Christian ban, thus following our Lord Jesus Christ, who was definitely nonresistant.

Article II: The Ministry

The Gospel of Jesus Christ constrains us to speak about it; we cannot be silent. Christ, the Son of God, came to bring this Gospel; the Apostolic church consisted of men sent out to preach this Gospel. The Apostle Paul said: To be a Christian is to abandon sin and to preach the Gospel. Soon, however, false teachings were introduced into the church and a special priesthood was set apart. This is the way the Reformed state churches of today came to have their priests. Besides this they were ordained under the Pope, which makes their ministry entirely unchristian. The state churches as a whole are unchristian, because there are too many faults in them, too much sin among their members. The true church of Christ consists of believers who are penitent and live a righteous and holy life. That is why we, after having received the first blessings of deliverance from the papacy by the Reformed church, have after a short while separated ourselves and have established a true

Apostolic church of real Christians; stimulated to do so by the teachings of God's own ambassador Conrad Grebel. In this church the members are penitent and live a holy life. Not only doctrines, but practice!

Rome worships idols; Zwinglians suffer under a lack of penitence; but the Anabaptists are true Christians and true Christians have the right to speak and preach God's Word. The church, established and originated by Christ, should be non-creedal, and promote an actual Christianity. For the first time after 1,300 years of darkness, this church has been re-established by us, who live according to all the ordinances. Instead of an emphasis on eschatology, we put our main emphasis on life with Christ today, as a part of life eternal. Again our preaching is constrained by the love of Jesus Christ for us and in us; our mission and calling comes, in the Biblical way, out of the true congregations of Christ.

Article III: The Church

The church is Jesus Christ; or in other words the church is where people live in a Christian way. As all men died in Adam, so all live in Christ. The church is thus based on an obedient holy life. The true Christian abandons natural sin and consequently is holy. Thus the church is a fellowship of saints. Of course temptation remains, but the believers, with God's help, do not yield but remain sinless. Our lust-man died and has been buried with Christ. Our sins have all been washed away by Christ; and it is the task of the church, as Christ's representative on earth, to see that this situation will not be changed. Thus all open sins must be punished by the church, leaving the hidden sins to God's own judgment. Concerning mortal sin we hold that: Christians, forsaking the cause of Christ, commit a mortal sin, since this is conscious blasphemy and therefore against the Holy Spirit. However, those who are not Christians always have the opportunity of repentance and conversion. Summarizing: If the godless man sins he will not die; but the sin of the believer will cause his death.

Article IV: Baptism

According to the Apostle Paul baptism is death with Christ and life with Christ unto God. It is a symbol of initiation into the church, which is the body of believers. Thus baptism and faith go together. Introduction into the church means a new and holy life, since our sins have died and are buried with Christ. However, since this requires sin-consciousness, repentance and faith, it is clear that children do not meet these requirements. Besides this the New Tes-

tament does not record anything but adult baptism. Again faith is an essential condition for baptism; and though children may be under the covenant, they are naturally not able to believe. In other words, baptism is to be administered only after receiving the Holy Spirit; and children, though they are not necessarily condemned, do not have the Holy Spirit.

Baptism is a symbol and not a sacrament arbitrarily bestowing God's blessings upon man, apart from faith and personal consciousness. A Biblical-historical argument for antipedobaptism is the fact that Christ was not baptized before He was thirty years of age. The Great Commission explicitly says: "Teach and baptize." Thus the Apostolic tradition does not conform to the Biblical teaching and we believe that nothing is allowed but what the Bible actually commands. As for the matter of circumcision, it is clear that baptism is not the same as the Old Testament act of initiation, but is its replacement. The analogy should not be pushed too far. Summarizing: Baptism is not the expression of a mechanical covenant theory; it requires a certain type of personal standing and a personal relation to God, the Father of Jesus Christ.

Article V: The Oath

Taking an oath is allowed in the Old Testament. In the Sermon on the Mount, however, Christ actually prohibited the oath: "Swear not at all." Jesus was the first Christian, and not preceded by Abraham, Moses, etc. Thus their actions are not necessarily Christian. The Old Testament hoped for the Messiah and had the promise of His coming, but did not have Him actually. Thus its teachings are not necessarily Christian. Law and Gospel are both God's Word, but each in its own way and place; and since we live under the Gospel, we keep the commandments of the new law. Besides this, the oath is for the sake of the perverted and dishonest world, from which Christians should abstain anyhow; thus there is no need for Christians to take an oath.

Article VI: The State

We grant that in the non-Christian world state authorities have a legitimate place, to keep order, to punish the evil, and to protect the good. But we as Christians live according to the Gospel and our only authority and Lord is Jesus Christ. Christians consequently do not use the sword, which is worldly, but they use the Christian ban. There is a great difference between Christians and the world, the former living by the standards of the Sermon on the Mount and the latter being perverted and governed by Satan.

The world uses the sword; Christians use only spiritual weapons. We cannot agree with the argument that because the state does some good sometimes, therefore it must be Christian. Though outside of Christ no one can do anything for his salvation; nevertheless non-Christians can do good.

Article VII: The Ban

Separation from the world is promoted strongly by the use of the Christian ban. There is a great difference between the light of the church and the darkness of the world. In the state churches darkness, arbitrariness, and worldly penalties, which cannot possibly be followed by penitence and repentance, prevail. Considering that physical punishments are entirely contrary to the spirit of the New Testament, and that the ban, practiced with Christian love and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is the only means of keeping sins far from the congregation and of keeping the church as holy as it is supposed to be, these facts are one more proof of the unchristian character of the state churches and one more argument for the necessity of the existence and for the truth of the Anabaptist church.

TWO EARLY ANABAPTIST TRACTS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY JOHN C. WENGER

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1888 the Mennonitische Verlagshandlung (of John F. Funk), Elkhart, Indiana, published a small booklet entitled, *Von der wahren Liebe.* Hans Denck. *Auslegung des Vaterunser.* Hans Langenmantel. *Zwei altevangelische Schriften aus dem Jahre* 1527.[1] The story behind this publication is an interesting one. In the year 1885 a German Mennonite youth named John Horsch (1867-1941)[2] wrote a letter to the German historian of Anabaptism, Dr. Ludwig Keller (1848-1915), asking where he could find a copy of Hans Denck's book *Von der wahren Liebe.*[3] Thus began a warm friendship between an enthusiastic historian and a youth who burned with the fire of a high idealism. Late the next year (December, 1886) young Horsch suddenly emigrated to America in order to stand true to the Anabaptist principle of nonresistance. But this removal to America did not stop the correspondence of Horsch with his scholarly mentor in Münster in Westphalia. Twenty-six letters from Keller to Horsch have been preserved and they unfold before our eyes an amazing plan for the spiritual rejuvenation of nineteenth century Mennonitism. Part of the plan as devised by Keller and Horsch involved the republication of various items of Anabaptist literature. Since these Keller-Horsch letters have already been published[4] we will now confine ourselves to the 1888 booklet published at Elkhart.

On July 1, 1887, Horsch wrote to Keller and apparently communicated to him his desire to publish Denck's *Von der wahren Liebe,* for in his reply of August 21 Keller wrote, "It would be very profitable if you could arrange for a new edition of Denck's writing, *Von der wahren Liebe,* and distribute it. If I can be of help to you in this, I will gladly do so."' On February 8, 1888, Keller added, "An important step is the publication of Denck's writings and I rejoice that the booklet, *Von der wahren Liebe,* will be printed." He added some suggestions for a preface which

[1] The Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College contains a copy under the signature, M 243 D 41v.

[2] A biography of Horsch written by his son-in-law, Dr. H. S. Bender, appeared in this journal, XXI, 3 (July, 1947), 131-144.

[3] Dr. Robert Friedmann: "John Horsch and Ludwig Keller," *Ibid.,* 160-174.

[4] *Ibid.,* 175-204.

Horsch accepted. Finally on July 21, 1888, Keller acknowledged receipt of the "reprint of Denck and Langenmantel" which young Horsch, but twenty years of age, had edited and seen through the Funk press.

What of the Langenmantel item? In a letter dated October 4, 1887, Keller had encouraged Horsch to see that the letters of Denck, Schiemer, Schlaffer, and Langenmantel be printed. And two years earlier Keller himself had published in the South German *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten*[5] a biography of Langenmantel entitled, "Lebensbeschreibung des Hans Langenmantel." Horsch had assuredly read this biography. In any case Horsch decided to include Langenmantel's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer in his Denck booklet.

In his unsigned preface to the 1888 booklet Horsch says nothing of the Langenmantel item. In a footnote on the first page of the *Auslegung,* however, he states the following: "This writing was composed in the year 1527 and is taken from the *Epistel-Buch,* written for the first time in 1566. Further [information] in Dr. L. Keller: *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer,* pp. 109-112."

Turning to Keller's monograph we learn that the tract published by Horsch as Langenmantel's was originally two separate items: (1) An anonymous Anabaptist sermon on Jeremiah 7:3, 4 and 9:8, a manuscript copy of which was preserved in the grossherzoglichen Bibliothek at Heidelberg;[6] (2) Langenmantel's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The two items were combined and published as a booklet in 1527.[7] Horsch in his 1888 reprint also published the two items as a single literary unit, entitling the entire tract, *Eine Auslegung des Vater Unser* durch Hans Langenmantel.[8]

The first item, the Anabaptist sermon, is perhaps unique; at least the present writer knows of no other Anabaptist sermon of so early a date as 1527. It is therefore of great interest. The sermon, it will be noted, had a strong ethical flavor. God expects His children to be saints, to live holy, sinless lives. The saints are to give earnest heed to the voice of God in their hearts. Reference is often made to the pre-conversion life of the hearers. Much emphasis is placed on the need of having a heart which has been renewed by God. The latter part of the sermon with its condemna-

5 Vol. XVI, No. 11 (November, 1885).

6 Keller: *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882), 109.

7 *Ibid.,* 111 n. The 1527 print seems to have entitled the Langenmantel item, "Eine schöne Auslegung des Vater unser." The above-mentioned library at Heidelberg has a handwritten copy of the 1527 booklet, according to Keller.

8 Cf. Note 7.

tion of all human judgment is undoubtedly a plea for freedom of conscience, a capital point with the Anabaptists.

Hans or Eitelhans Langenmantel was the son of Hans Langenmantel, the fourteenth mayor of Augsburg.[9] Eitelhans turned from Catholicism to Protestantism only to make the further step to Anabaptism in March, 1527, when he was baptized by Hans Hut. The baptism took place in Langenmantel's own home which was employed as a meetinghouse by the Anabaptists of Augsburg. Soon the gifted patrician was preaching, and was arrested in October, 1527. He succeeded in being granted a disputation with the Augsburg clergy but was nevertheless banished from the city. On April 24, 1528, he was arrested at night, together with two of his servants, a half-grown boy and a maid. On May 11 he was beheaded as an Anabaptist but without a trial. Because of his severe gout he remained in a sitting position for the execution. His servant boy was likewise beheaded, while the maid was drowned.

Langenmantel was the author of six booklets in addition to his *Auslegung,* but he did not write the hymn which the *Ausbund* attributes to him.[10] Both the *Hutterian Chronicle*[11] and the *Martyrs' Mirror*[12] make mention of Langenmantel.

The *Auslegung* is a vigorous protest against the carnality of professing Christendom in the early sixteenth century. As an Anabaptist Langenmantel could not recognize as Christians those who did not realize Biblical virtues in daily life. Part of the time Langenmantel identifies himself with his unsaved friends as he writes, perhaps in retrospect as he ponders over his unregenerate years, perhaps in imagination in the present.

The last three paragraphs may have been added to Langenmantel's exposition by the unknown compiler of the 1527 booklet; we cannot be certain.

The text of the two tracts follows:

I. An Anonymous Anabaptist Sermon

God says (Jer. 7): Amend your ways and your doings, then will I dwell with you in this place; and let no one deceive himself.

Jer. 9: Their deceitful tongue is a deadly arrow; their mouth speaketh peaceably with their neighbor but their heart lieth in wait secretly for him.

[9] The following biographical data is taken from J. Loserth's article in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 618f.

[10] *Ibid.,* 618.

[11] Zieglschmid edition, 1943, 65.

[12] English edition, 1938, 429f.

In the Name of the undivided threefold God: May He be with us, and with all those who so desire, to teach and to show[13] us the command of Christ which the Father demands that we fulfill, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

God our Heavenly Father demands of the whole world which has sinned that it forsake sin and henceforth sin no more. Then He will not condemn[14] it, as Christ indicates to us. The Father demands also that we recognize Christ's teaching which was sent to us from the Father and given to us in paternal faithfulness. Now he who hears this teaching and these words, and does them, praises God, because he is a wise man who builds his house upon the rock; he can therefore be secure in the face of pelting rain and wind, for he builds upon the Word of God. Now there is no other rock indicated before God upon which one may build except this one only (Matt. 9; Psa. 1; Matt. 7; Jer. 17; Psa. 118; Matt. 21; Mark 12).

O dearly-beloved brethren and sisters in the Christian meeting[15]: Let us note well what the first plank[16] is of this house, as Christ teaches us, "Desist from sin." For sin has no place in this house. If we build with sin we are not building the house of God but the house of darkness. But if we desist from sin we will not blaspheme the Name of God but praise, extol and honor it, and begin to love Him from our hearts, for He first loved us. Of this we have no need of external testimony from our Father, as we comprehend and perceive, which [testimony] is our body, life and all our members (Rom. 1; Heb. 1). Our testimony is heaven and everything which can be known in heaven, the air and everything which moves in the air, the whole earth, the sea and everything which dwells therein. Such testimony the Heavenly Father created for us and gave to us who recognize His Name, His glory, His might and His paternal love, and who praise Him.

O dearest brethren and sisters: Let every one consider with his whole heart whether he have used this testimony, paternal faithfulness, and gift, as praise and honor and thanksgiving, so that the Heavenly Father may be praised, honored and glorified thereby. Oh, it is a great concern that we have used wrongly this testimony and gift which God has bestowed upon us, thereby blaspheming God, as with our mouth, which should have extolled God but has ever blasphemed Him. Our eyes should have ever been upon that which was opposed to our faithful Father. And our ears should always have heard the will of our Heavenly Father which He has made known to us through all His prophets and through Christ and which is a greater gift and testimony and greater paternal faithfulness than the testimony of earth, of heaven and of all creatures. But our ears could not hear it. Would to God[17] that they had not hindered it and had not given heed to the esteem[18] of the world; then God would not condemn us.

In this I wish to include all the articles which every person can consider for himself if he gives heed to what he hears and to his conduct.[19] Since it is now certain and evident that we have used thus all the members of

13 "weise."

14 "verdammen."

15 "Versammlung." Dr. Keller regards this term as proof that we have before us a sermon.

16 "Holz."

17 "Wollte Gott": perhaps better rendered, "I wish earnestly."

18 "Ansehen."

19 "Wandel."

our body (of which much could be said but it is not necessary), let everyone take heed to the Speaker who speaks in all hearts; He will surely teach one what to do if one takes good heed. O, dear brethren and sisters: Let all those who hear this begin immediately[20] with their members which God gave us, to praise, extol, honor and thank God. Ever afterwards let them follow that which Christ taught us and look not back to blasphemy. O, dear brethren: We should never look back of us to the blasphemy of God, that we may never blaspheme Him, as Christ teaches us truly. He who putteth his hand to the plow and looketh back is already disqualified to enter the city to which Christ has shown us the way. O, dear brethren and sisters: Give heed to the Speaker who èver more speaks in your hearts; thus you shall find in yourselves[21] a true witness, never to sin against God. O, dear brethren: All who hear I entreat for God's sake to give heed well to this war which we ever find in ourselves—a great blasphemy of God which arises in us; but we also find in us a powerful resistance that we may overcome this blasphemy.[22] Because of the faithful Father's will in heaven, Who loved us so dearly, we find resistance through Christ, and we cry to our heavenly Father, as Christ teaches us, that He may hear us and send us strength to overcome this combat which arises in us—if we watch well, each one over his house (Matt. 24).

Therefore, dear brethren and sisters: Be ye all admonished in the Lord to watch, then ye will indeed forget all the scribes[23] of the whole earth, of which one is to beware (Matt. 23, Mark 8, Luke 12); ye will also forget all monasteries, monks, and churches,[24] together with all that is therein and occurs there, in order that we may be a temple of God, since God does not dwell in temples made with hands (I Cor. 4, Acts 7 and 17) but in temples which are come from heaven, the souls and spirits of men who live in faith and do His will. And God speaks further: I will dwell in you and walk in you (I Pet. 2, Ex. 14). Now if God is to dwell and walk in us He cannot dwell in this temple except there be removed from it beforehand all which is opposed to God. There we will find many pictures and much strange merchandise[25] with which God cannot dwell. It is a case of the creature having entered in to us and having become dearer to us than the Creator. Of this Christ has faithfully warned us. That which we would prefer to Him whom the Father sent to us would make us unworthy for the Lord to dwell in our house (Matt. 10, Luke 14).

O dear brethren and sisters: Bear in mind that Christ clearly teaches us that God the Father [sows not] His Seed (His Word which He sends out through Christ who alone teaches us) on the road where the seed cannot grow but is quickly picked up, also not in a quickset for it would be choked by the thorns, also not on a rock for it would lack earth and could not grow.[26] But where the seed falls in good earth it will yield much fruit (Matt. 13). Now it is known to all of us that no person sows seed on a road, in thorns or on a rock, except he first till and plant so that he

[20] "von Stund an."

[21] "bei Euch."

[22] "dass wir dieser Lästerung sollen Widerstand thun."

[23] The Swiss Brethren frequently applied the term scribes to the Protestant clergy because they regarded them as teachers of extra-Biblical traditions—e.g., infant baptism.

[24] A demand that all state church services be shunned.

[25] "fremde Güter."

[26] "den er hat nicht Erdreich, das gebaut sei."

may have a good[27] field—thereupon he sows the seed. And that is the way God does. He comes to us in our heart which has become a road, a quickset and hard stone to plough and to plant, and to root out all hedges and thorns through His divine Word which has been opened to us by Christ and which is truly present in all the world. Would to God that people would hearken, believe on Him and follow Him. This is what He teaches us. Desist from deceptive wealth and from the superfluous care of the world (I Tim. 6)—which God has not commanded us, for it is thistles and thorns. But whoever does not have these thistles and thorns in his heart may well thank God incessantly. But let him who has them follow this Tiller who comes ever before our heart, requesting to clean it out,[28] to plant his field and make a good earth so that the Seed of God may be sowed therein and grow there until the harvest and may yield much fruit for Him who reaps. Such a Tiller is the living Word of God which we cannot deny (Matt. 19). It ever comes to us but we do not wish to have it in us, and therefore we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, as Christ the true Son of God teaches us: Except we are born anew we cannot see the kingdom of God (John 3). There is no other birth, for whoever hears the Word of God and receives it into his heart, all which the Word teaches in his heart he is willing to do according to the will of God (I Pet. 4). If he does this, no longer doing the will of the world but the will of God, he is a true child of God; he is also truly born again. But he who hears the Word and refuses to do what the Word teaches, which proceeds from God and was opened up by Christ, can never be born anew until he hears the Word in his heart and obeys it,[29] as Christ has taught us. And this is the law of God which Christ teaches us, which is sealed and which may never be broken, as Christ says, Before one tittle or letter of my law shall pass away, heaven and earth must rather pass away (Matt. 5). Therefore, dear brethren and sisters: Let each one consider well where he stands, whether in the will of the world or in the will of God. When one is in the will of God the law and the seal are already broken[30] for him (Matt. 11); but when one is in the will of the world let him know that for him the seal is too strong and can never be broken. He who hears the Word of God in divine love from the whole heart and does that which the Word teaches him is, as Christ says, wise, for he hears and obeys the Word; he has heavenly wisdom, he can build a house which will never pass away, and it shall be a house of God. But he who hears the Word and obeys it not, as Christ teaches, has an earthly wisdom; he will build an earthly house which will fall and pass away with the whole earth. In this all men are admonished, that we may perceive at which house we are building. If one builds at the house of God, the house of God or Christ, and the children of God will not be condemned of him. In this are admonished for God's sake all those who are judging, that they consider well at which house they are building when they seize the judgment of God,[31] since God taught us through His most dear Son, whom He commanded us to hear, that we should leave the judgment to God. Now if anyone, regardless of who he is, is building a house of this earth, he will ever seize God's judgment. Yet

27 "geschlachte": from middle high German *geslaht,* noble, of a good kind (Zieglschmid).

28 "auszureuten."

29 "und thut das."

30 "aufgelöst."

31 "wenn sie Gott in sein Urtheil greifen."

he should know and be admonished of God that God will judge him at the Last Judgment by His Son; and then that judgment will be too severe for him because he has acted contrary to God and His omnipotence, whom no one can withstand. Then all men will also perceive and see what they have judged.

Be admonished accordingly of God for His sake, that we pass not judgment against anyone, regardless of who it may be, since the Father has imparted to us such great paternal faithfulness that no man can deny it, not even the greatest enemy of God who may be found under heaven,—but that will be the severest judgment.

II. An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer

By Eitelhans Langenmantel[32]

All people are petitioning God, crying and saying falsely: *Our Father*, but they are not doing what the Father requires. If we want to ask aright we should be the children of our Heavenly Father; but now we are like children who are born of the devil [yet] who say, *Thou who art*—but believe not that it is God. They say also, *In heaven*—and seek Him not in heaven but much more the Father of sin, and then add, *Hallowed be Thy Name*—and we are the first to blaspheme His name and to regard it as profane: to this testify all our works. We say, *Thy kingdom come to us*—and that with great falseness and terrible blasphemy of God; for if the kingdom of God comes to us and the Father wishes to give it to us (as He promised us through Jesus Christ His most dear Son) we oppose it with all the might of our soul and body, and we regard and treasure the whole world, the kingdom of hell and darkness, as the kingdom of God, just as Christ said, The world hath neither known me nor my Father (John 8).

Therefore we do not say truly, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.* Here the whole world is admonished by God the Heavenly Father, when we so falsely pray—for when His will is to be done it begins in us. The living Word teaches us in our hearts that it is God's will for it ever to be done in us. Therefore God has no greater enemy, who withstands the will of God, than us, since we pray to God as was mentioned and do not give Him faith but withstand His Words. In the same way He simply slices off for us our daily bread as we pray, *Give us this day our daily bread.* And if God give me my daily bread as I have asked Him, and should He give me more than I need, and I see my neighbor in need or suffering hunger: If I do not share with him but rather say, It is mine—what I prayed for my brethren is already a lie because I do not share with my brethren as Christ taught me. Also Christ says further, Man shall not live alone by natural bread but by every Word of God which proceedeth from the mouth of God (Matt. 4, Luke 4, Deut. 8). This is the bread of the spirit and the soul that they may be fed ever and eternally. And if God give us such bread as we have asked of Him we are opposed to it with all our heart. Let everyone read this in the book of his mind (*Gemüth*), whether he is following the mind or the Word of God which is the true Bread—and neither spirit nor soul can ever be fed except by following (*in der Nachfolge*) the living Word of God. Therefore when we pray let each one see to it that he does not speak against himself when we pray:

[32] This title Horsch places at the beginning of the anonymous Anabaptist sermon and prints the entire item as a unit, undoubtedly following his *Epistel-Buch* of 1566 or some other source. I have moved it to the point where I believe the Langenmantel *Auslegung* begins.

Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors. If the Father comes and wishes to forgive us our debts which we have incurred with Him He says, Sin henceforth no more and ye shall be forgiven. Thus the Father comes to us. Then all people may see how we petition Him. If we thenceforth nevermore sin, for the Lord's sake, our debtors are also forgiven, as the Lord has forgiven us. Then we can rightly say, *Lead us not into temptation.* O Almighty God: If only we would be satisfied with that—since Thou dost lead and teach us through Jesus Christ, Thy most dear Son—we would not enter into temptation but into great and endless joy (Jas. 1) But if we allow ourselves to be led of our evil will, and of the will of sin which is not of Thee, we go on to damnation: of this we are certain. Therefore let everyone look at that which wishes to lead us, whether it be the good or the evil will: then everyone will find his place as God has spoken through His dear Son, our Duke Jesus Christ, and will pray simply:

But deliver us from the evil. And if Thou, Eternal Father, wilt deliver us from the evil,— [yet] we wish and desire from the whole heart to be bound and taken captive, and led into the evil so that we are ever found to be liars and blasphemers of God, and thus be convinced of all our sins which testify against us since they are written before the face of God and will never be forgiven since we do not desist from them and turn in conversion[33] to God, whose alone is the kingdom, as follows:

Thine is the kingdom. O Eternal God: Thy kingdom we regard as the greatest poverty. O Lord, we give evidence of this with all our works. There is no one who wishes to do Thy will, but yet therein is the everlasting riches of God the eternal Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ. We all are ready to fulfill the will of sin; regarding it as the greatest wealth[34] and as the best. Every man's will testifies to this in his heart which loves the evil more and does the same. For where the heart's love is, there is also the treasure and the wealth (Matt. 6; Luke 11). O dear brethren and sisters in the whole world, be admonished of God your Father. Read with diligence the book of your heart. There everything is written down, and no scribe, of which Christ has warned us, will be able to lead us astray (Matt. 7 and 23). Then we can rightly say:

Thine is the power. O Almighty God: Give discernment to all the brethren and sisters who crave Thy power, that we from this hour forth may not regard Thy power for great weakness. No man on earth was too great a sinner; if he commanded us to do something we regarded it as much more mighty than the heavenly power which God has opened up to us through Christ. We have also sought strength and comfort more from the creature than from the Creator. If we want testimony that it is true we may go into our minds where we find more desire and joy to obey and serve the creature than the Creator, and therefore we speak against God.

Thine is the glory from eternity to eternity, Amen. O Almighty, Eternal God: How are we found great blasphemers of God before Thy divine face, with great and mighty lies which can never be forgotten because we seek another glory than Thine alone and of the Lord Jesus Christ; we have not sought Thy glory, although we said it was Thine. We have also sought glories in many goals, regarded them more carefully, and found in them more joy and pleasure than in Thy glory, which Thou Thyself art. We therefore give testimony ourselves of all our desolate abominations which we practice in opposition to Thee: This is evident in our pleasure in all our

[33] "und uns bekehren zu Gott."
[34] "Reich."

sins—not to mention the accompanying works, which is nevertheless evident; we are therefore the occasion of great vexation thereby, which is forbidden us by the Lord Jesus Christ.[35]

Almighty God: The peoples who read this booklet will evidently say Who can keep such things as are written in this booklet? They say, or will say, It is too strict (*schwer*). O Almighty, Eternal God: Grant to all those who read or hear this, Thy strength through Jesus Christ that it may become easy (*leicht*) for them in their hearts, because it is Thy divine teaching and commandment—as Christ the true Son of God teaches that His commandment is not grievous (*schwer*). O you dearest brethren and sisters: Do not regard it as grievous in your hearts; begin with the smallest which God teaches and commands through His Son Jesus Christ, and do the same with willing hearts for the sake of your Father, of whom you have received great gifts and presents, which no one can deny.

But if you would gladly learn what you ought to receive, ask God for the beginning of the same and He will give it you. Perhaps you wish to begin by mastering your mouth so that you cease to blaspheme the Name of God. When you have started with this item and overcome it you will have made a heavenly beginning. And thereafter when you have begun to extol and praise the name of God, and to become grateful, then you will begin to love God from the whole heart and your neighbor as yourself. This is what Christ has taught us. If we truly believe we will do this in truth. That which is further to be done the Holy Spirit will teach through Jesus Christ, Amen.

Almighty, Eternal God: We entreat Thee to give strength to all who hear Thy Word that they may do what Thy Word teaches them. To those who truly hear, and who repent (*bereuen*) of all their sins, do Thou give Holy Spirit power[36] that they may resist sin until their final end. This we also entreat of Christ the Son, that He may pray the Father for us that this may be imparted to us. O Almighty, Eternal God: That which we have not yet heard from Jesus Christ, and not done, do Thou grant unto us, and to all who crave it with the whole heart, to hear and to do. God, the Heavenly Father, grant you this through His Son Jesus Christ our Lord and through the power of His Holy Spirit—and may He be with us from now on, from eternity to eternity, Amen. Amen. Let this be true.[37]

[35] It is my conjecture that the Langenmantel *Auslegung* probably ends at this point, —unless he himself published both the sermon and the *Auslegung* in 1527: a not impossible supposition.

[36] "eine Kraft des heiligen Geistes."

[37] " . . . der sei mit uns von nun an bis in Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Amen. Amen. Das werde wahr."

MENNONITE IMMIGRATION INTO MANITOBA: DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES, 1873-1874

Edited by Ernst Correll

The following documents are supplementary to the sources and documents dealing with "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba," covering the years 1872-1873, published in THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW of July and October, 1937. An extended discussion of these documents bearing in some measure also on the material presented in this issue can be found in the July, 1937 issue, pages 196-209.

I

The first official letter, dated January 8, 1873, relates in part to the "Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba" by Jacob Yost Shantz and should be compared with the Shantz letter to the Canadian Minister of Agriculture of November 28, 1872 (MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1937, p. 276). The Shantz Narrative contains miscellaneous data of a general statistical nature taken from a government pamphlet on Manitoba. The following reproduction covers only the beginning portion of the Narrative prepared by Shantz with the likely collaboration of Bernhard Warkentin. The end portion gives advice to emigrants from Europe recommending that German emigrants who arrive by way of New York put up at the German Mission House at Pearl Street 426. The Narrative concludes with this paragraph: "I strongly recommend Manitoba as a home for German emigrants and as they can obtain large grants of land en bloc, they can form settlement or settlements of their own, where they can preserve their language and their customs, as in the Western States of America."

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Ontario, 8th January, 1873 to Jacob Y. Shantz, Berlin, Ontario.

Source:

Public Archives of Canada. Dept. of Agriculture. Letter Book Number 6, page 270.

I have the honour to enclose to you herewith cheque for the sum of $187.57 being the amount of the balance of your account rendered. Would you kindly send an acknowledgment for the same.

You would greatly oblige if you would send a report of your opinion of the country with as much detail as possible, in a form for publication.

J. Y. Shantz' Narrative of a Journey with Bernhard Warkentin of Russia to Manitoba in 1872.

Source:

Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba, by J. Y. Shantz, *together with an abstract from the Dominion Lands Act, and an extract from the Government Pamphlet on Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa,* 1873. (Printed copy in Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.)

Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba

By J. Y. Shantz

The following narrative of a journey to Manitoba has been written by Mr. Jacob Y. Shantz, a German Mennonite, resident in Berlin, Ontario.

Mr. Shantz, at the request of the Department of Agriculture, visited Ottawa, in company with Mr. Bernard Warkentin, a German Mennonite from Berdiansk, Russia, in November last, as interpreter.

The object of Mr. Warkentin in visiting Canada was to find a place suitable for the settlement of Mennonites who contemplate an emigration, **en masse,** from Russia.

At the request of the Department of Agriculture, he, with Mr. Shantz, visited Manitoba.

Mr. Shantz states that in writing a narrative of the journey, he has been moved by the simple desire to set down the facts in the utmost possible accuracy.

Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, April, 1873

Berlin, Ontario, 28th February, 1873.

To the Hon. J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa:

Sir:

I herewith enclose to you a brief narrative of my journey to Manitoba, and my opinions respecting that province. The readers of this report may rest assured that it contains a true and impartial statement of what I saw and learned there. Tastes differ—some may like what others dislike, and some persons are so constituted that they can be content nowhere. Fish and game are abundant in the province, but even these must be caught before they can be cooked and eaten. Of this one fact however, I am certain, that Manitoba affords a splendid field for immigration, not only from Europe and Canada, but also from the United States, for those desirous of acquiring a good and cheap homestead for themselves and their family. Such are sure of becoming independent if they are only willing to go to work, to be industrious, and to live temperately.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant
Jacob Y. Shantz

Manitoba and the Northwest

On the 5th November, 1872, Mr. Bernard Warkentin of Russia and myself left Berlin by the Grand Trunk Railway to Detroit, (en route for the Province of Manitoba); thence by the Southern Michigan Railway to Chicago; thence to St. Paul, Minnesota, and by the

Lake Superior and Mississippi Railway to Duluth; thence by the Northern Pacific Railway to Moorehead on the Red River, a place situated immediately on the boundary line between the states of Minnesota and Dakotah, from which place we proceeded to Pembina on the borders of Manitoba.

Entering that Province, we travelled a distance of 72 miles by stage to Fort Garry and Winnipeg, the latter being situated contiguous to the Fort, and a rising place. A railroad is now in course of construction to Pembina which will be completed during the present year. We might have saved about 230 miles had we taken the route via Breckenridge, but in order to avoid travelling by stage, we took the longer route by railway. From Pembina we travelled about 50 miles along the Red River—a portion of the Province as yet entirely unsettled, with the exception of a few stations scattered every 15, or 20 miles where relays of horses and refreshments for passengers are provided. Passing this district the half-breed settlements commence, small white houses with stables attached dotting the scene, and which become more numerous as we approach the Fort.

Seven miles from Fort Garry we passed a grist mill; the houses presented a better appearance, the farms being well fenced, and the Assiniboine River was reached, a tributary of the Red River. The former stream is navigable for a distance of 60 miles or more, and though not wide is deep. Red River is navigable some 280 miles to the South and 30 to the north where it empties into Lake Winnipeg, with an expanse of about 1,000 feet at the Town of Winnipeg. Fort Garry, the principal trading post of the Hudson Bay Company, contains a small fortress with a garrison of soldiers. A large warehouse belonging to the Company is situated on the River's bank, in which six clerks are employed. There is also a telegraph office, and several two story houses around the fort. Work had been commenced upon the foundations of a new hotel to be erected this year at the cost of $14,000.

At a distance of about a quarter of a mile or so lies the Town of Winnipeg, the capital of the Province, only founded a few years ago, but which already contains 12 stores, 5 hotels, and a large sawmill, capable of cutting from ten to fifteen thousand feet of lumber per day. There are also a planing mill and four printing offices. The houses are mostly frame, brick being the exception, though they are now being manufactured there. Stone and lime are procurable within six miles. The roads, as well as the streets, are in bad order, with very little sidewalk, but the building operations continually going on and teaming in connection therewith will cut them up for some time to come. Winnipeg also contains a Savings Bank, and a Wesleyan church.

On the eastern side of Red River lies the village of St. Boniface, containing a Roman Catholic Cathedral, Church of England, Presbyterian Church, and a schoolhouse. Further down the river is St. John's (Church of England) College. After seeing Winnipeg we started for the Indian Mission about 60 miles to the northwest. For a distance of some two miles are the houses of the Half-breeds, after which nothing was to be seen but the unbroken prairie, till we arrived at "Cattle Farm," 20 miles distant, where we saw 100 head of cattle grazing. The farm-buildings consisted of a small dwelling house with large out buildings, and a stack of hay containing about

100 tons. When we left there on the 23rd November, the cattle were still in the fields, and the pasture was good. For the rest of the distance to Indian Mission the country changes, the prairie being dotted here and there with belts of wood land known as "bluffs", containing from one half to ten acres, for the most part poplar. This timber is used by the half breeds for building purposes, for fences, and for fuel. On arrival at the Mission we found about twenty families of French half-breeds, who live by hunting and fishing. Here we met Mr. William Wagner, Provincial Land Surveyor, who takes a great interest in the encouragement of immigration to Manitoba. Immigrants arriving, especially Germans, would do well to apply to this gentleman for information as to the most profitable and desirable lands on which to settle.

Leaving the Indian Mission we journeyed south-west along the eastern shore of Lake Manitoba, and found fine prairie land there, dotted as before with "bluffs". For 40 miles we travelled without seeing a house till we reached a spot called "Poplar Point" on the Assiniboine, where we found a farm of about 90 acres under cultivation, belonging to a Mr. Taylor, who owns a large number of cattle. In the vicinity is a settlement of English half-breeds, chiefly Protestants, and possessing three churches, English, Presbyterian, and Methodist. Proceeding still further westward along the banks of the river which are settled by small farmers, we arrived at "High Bluffs" a place with three churches and a School House. Here we staid at a farm belonging to a Mr. Allcock, an Englishman, who came here from Ontario three years ago. He showed us as fine a sample of spring wheat as I had ever seen, and told us that he had harvested 40 bushels to the acre. He also exhibited a splendid sample of oats, flax seed, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, and other vegetables.

Seven miles further on, in a westerly direction, we came to the village of Portage la Prairie, with six stores, a grist mill, four saw mills, and quite a large number of mechanics. We next visited Messrs. Grant and Mackenzie, whose farms lie about eight miles distant from Portage la Prairie, both of whom came from the Province of Ontario. Mr. Grant showed us a sample of wheat which had turned out 30 bushels to the acre, and some very fine oats. His potatoes also were of a very large size and superior quality, such as I have never seen surpassed. Mr. Mackenzie's wheat yielded 32 bushels to the acre. He also showed us about 100 bushels of onions, measuring from two, to five and a half inches in diameter. The turnips also were of a very large size of which three would weigh 60 pounds. He stated that he had taken 1,200 bushels of potatoes off of four and three quarter acres of land—prairie land broken up, and the potatoes ploughed under. He also showed us young apple trees which he had raised from seed, that looked very thrifty. This gentleman also possesses a herd of ninety head of cattle, amongst which I remarked a full-bred Durham bull, and some Durham cows. I am thus particular in mentioning all I saw on this farm, that the reader may form some idea of the richness of the soil. The distance from "Poplar Point" to Mr. Mackenzie's farm is about 22 miles up the Assiniboine, along which there is a good strip of timber, and the land well settled, partly by English half-breeds, and immigrants from Ontario.

Returning to Poplar Point, we resumed our journey in an easterly direction by the main road towards Winnipeg, and at a distance

of 12 miles, we reached St. Pauls Mission. Six miles further we came to Pigeon Lake, one mile distant from which is the Hudson Bay Company's Post, known as "white Horse Post", where the company carries on farming on an extensive scale, 9,870 bushels of grain having been raised in 1871 on two hundred and ninety acres of land. The Company also maintain here about 500 head of cattle. Twelve miles further we came to Headingley, a small village, and four miles distant from that is Sturgeon Creek, where there is a steam mill and distillery. Passing "Silver Heights" where the Hon. Donald A. Smith, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, resides, we came to St. Paul's Church (Church of England) and after a further distance of five miles reached again our starting point. Our road lay on the north side of, and along the Assiniboine River; the soil consists of good rich prairie land, and belts of timber consisting of Elm, Basswood, Ash and Poplar.

Leaving Winnipeg again in a north easterly direction, we proceeded along the Red River to the Hudson Bay Company's Post, known as the Stone Fort, where there is a small garrison. The whole distance from Winnipeg to the Fort is thickly settled. Respecting the weather, whilst travelling in the States of Minnesota and Dacotah, from the 10th November to the 1st December it snowed continually with drift, although the snow was not over eight inches deep on the plains: on reaching the Manitoba line, however, we found very little snow, and on arrival at Fort Garry on the 17th November there was not enough snow to cover the ground. From the 18th to the 28th November, there was not enough snow to be of any consequence in Manitoba, and on the 1st December leaving Fort Garry on our return we had beautiful weather, travelling by stage on wheels 140 miles. The further south we came the more snow we found till on our arrival at St. Paul, it was fully a foot in depth. This confirmed the statement made by the people in Manitoba that they do not experience as much snow as falls in Minnesota and Dacotah. Apparently the further westward you travel in Manitoba, the less snow is met with, and the milder is the climate.

II

The official correspondence between January 8, 1873 and July 23, 1873 reflects the progress of promotional activities in which William Hespeler, Emigration Agent of the Canadian Government, takes an eminent part. Compare the documents relating to the same period in The Mennonite Quarterly Review, 1937.

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, March 20th. 1873 to Wm. Hespeler, Waterloo, Ontario.

Source:

Public Archives of Canada, Dept. of Agriculture. Letter Book Number 7, page 32.

I am directed by the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and in reply to state that you can, if you think it advisable, meet the deputation from Russia at Montreal or Island Pond.

Instructions will be sent to Mr. Winder, the Agent of the Department at Portland, to look out for their arrival and furnish them with facilities for travel.

Please telegraph to the Department any further information you may receive respecting the deputation.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 8th April, 1873 to W. Winder, Portland, Me.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7, page 53.

Mennonite deputation expected per Scandinavian. Afford them every attention and report your action by telegraph.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, April 8th, 1873 to J. J. Daley, Montreal.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7, page 53.

Menonite deputation from Russia expected per Scandinavian. Afford them every attention. They have passes to Ottawa. Give them first class tickets to Berlin if they desire.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 8th April, 1873 to W. Hespeler, Waterloo, Ontario.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7, page 54.

Menonite Deputation sailed on twenty seventh per Scandinavian now due. You had better meet them at Montreal.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 9th April, 1873 to W. Hespeler, Waterloo, Ontario.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7—page 54.

Menonite delegation arrive at St. Lawrence, Montreal today.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 9th April, 1873 to Jacob Y. Shantz, Berlin, Ontario.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7, page 53.

Menonite delegation have arrived and propose to visit Berlin.

Telegram—John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 9th April, 1873 to J. J. Daley, Montreal.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 7—page 54.

Menonite delegation arrive St. Lawrence Hall to-day. Pass them wherever they want to go. Put them in communication with Dr. Fischer of German Society.

Department of Agriculture, (J. Lowe, Secretary) to W. Hespeler, Waterloo. May 3, 1873.

Source:

Ibid., Department of Agriculture, Letters Sent—No. 7, p. 102.

I am directed by the Hon., the Minister of Agriculture to recapitulate the following facts relating to the immunities which will be afforded to Mennonites, which are established by the Statute laws of

Canada, and by orders of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, for the information of the Mennonites in Russia, and particularly for communication to the Mennonite Deputation about to arrive in this country.

1. An entire exemption from any military service is by law and Order in Council granted to the Mennonites.

2. An Order in Council was passed on 3rd March last to reserve eight Townships in the Province of Manitoba for free grants on the condition of settlement for the exclusive use of the Mennonites, the said free grants to consist of 160 acres each to every adult person over 21 years of age. Should the settlement extend beyond these eight townships other townships will be, in the same way reserved to the full extent of the Mennonite settlement.

3. In addition to the free grant of a ¼ section of 160 acres to every person over 21 years of age on the condition of settlement the right to purchase the remaining ¾ of the section at $1.00 per acre is granted by law so as to complete the whole section of 640 acres which is the largest amount of land the Government will grant a patent for to one person.

4. The settler will receive his patent for a free grant after three years residence in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

5. In the event of the death of the settler his widow or lawful heirs can claim the patent for the free grant upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

6. From the moment of occupation the settler and his family acquire a homestead right in the land.

7. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.

8. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.

9. You were authorised in my letter to you of Sept. 17 last to state that in order to secure the influx of this population into Canada, that Government would bring 1000 or more persons at one time from Berdiansk during 1873 at the same rate of fare as is now paid by passengers sailing from the port of Liverpool to Quebec.

10. In addition to the preceding instructions, the Minister authorizes me to state further that the Government of Canada will undertake to send a steamship or steamships to Berdiansk for the conveyance of 1000 Mennonites to Quebec, and convey them from Quebec to Manitoba at a cost to them of $40 a head for adults with reductions for children on the condition that they be all assembled at some time to be fixed and permission can be obtained from the Russian Government for a steamship to go to Berdiansk, after it shall have given permission to the Mennonites to emigrate.

If permission cannot be obtained from the Russian Government to send a ship to Berdiansk the same favourable offer will hold good as regards any convenient and available port.

Beyond the first thousand emigrants which the Canadian Government will convey on the favourable terms hereinbefore stated, it will afford the utmost possible facilities to cheapen and render as comfortable as possible the emigration of the great body of the Mennonites in order to obtain them as settlers in the Dominion.

David Klaassen (Heubuden Colony), Jacob Peters (Bergthal Colony), Heinrich Wiebe (Bergthal Colony), Cornelius Toews (Grünfeld Colony), delegates of South Russia to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa. July 23, 1873.

Source:

Ibid., No. 8753.

[Following your invitation delivered by Hespeler we visited Manitoba and particularly the townships reserved for us and found them in a position to answer for our future homes. If it is the wish of God we will, joined by our colonists begin with the first immigration next spring, 1874, comprising about 200 families. Should we after arrival of the first immigrants prefer another location we would expect the privilege of exchange, providing such parts should not by that time be taken up by other settlers or by the railway]

Auf Veranlassung Ihrer gefl . Einladung , die Sie uns durch Herrn Hespeler zustellen liessen . . . besichtigten wir Manitoba und besonders die 8 Townshipps die Sie uns zur Besiedlung reservierten . . . Wenn es der Wille Gottes ist werden wir mit unseren Kolonien Manitoba als zukünftige Heimstätte beziehen . Ihre liberale Unterstützungen . . . hoffen wir mit . . . Gott zu unserem und des Landes Wohl benützen zu dürfen . Wir hoffen bis Frühjahr . . . 1874 mit der ersten Ansiedlung beginnnen zu können . . . wahrscheinlich mit 200 Familien. Sollten wir nach Ankunft der ersten Einwanderer eine andere Location als die bezeichnete Reserve erbitten, vorausgesetzt solche wäre noch nicht an andere Ansiedler oder Eisenbahn übergeben, erwarten wir, dass Sie die Bitte ... umzutauschen gewähren werden.

The *Manitoban* Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba, Saturday, Aug. 9, 1873. Whole No. 136. Volume III., No. 32, p. 2. "The Mennonites" (Editorial).

Some of the United States papers have been very briskly engaged of late in writing elaborate accounts of the trip of the Mennonite deputation through parts of Iowa and Minnesota, while they at the same time chuckled over what they believe to be the disappointment of the deputation with the lands of this Province and the North-west. Instead of being delighted with our rich prairie lands, the Mennonites were reported to be glad to get out of the country after two weeks residence here.

It is unfortunate for this story that these same Commissioners immediately on their return to the east, visited Ottawa with a view of consulting with the Minister of Agriculture, touching the emigration of about eighty thousand Mennonites to Canada. This fact eminently proves that they are satisfied with this country, besides having taken up eight townships between Pointe du Chene and the boundary line. It is intended to form an intermediary settlement at that point, in order to facilitate the movements of those who will follow. No doubt this large accession of Europeans will be the means of drawing the attention of other people to the important portion of the Dominion of Canada.]

III

The year 1874 witnessed the first large group of Mennonite settlers from Russia moving into Manitoba. The reports of the Canadian Emigration Agent in the port of Hamburg, Jacob E. Klotz, are especially significant.

Isaac E. Bowman, M. P., South Waterloo to Commissioner of Agriculture and Emigration, Ottawa, St. Jacob, Jan. 10, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., 9841.

[Prospective immigration of Mennonites from Russia reviewed. Mr. Pope ascertained through British Consul in Southern Russia that large colony of Germans intended to come to Russia. Hespeler, chief emigration agent of our Dominion in Germany proceeded to Russia, communicated with them with a view to induce at least a portion of them to settle in Manitoba. They appointed a deputation who in company with Hespeler proceeded through Ontario to Manitoba. In Ontario they were joined by Jacob Y. Schantz of the County of Waterloo who at the request of Hon. M. Pope accompanied them to Manitoba. He went with them also through Dakota, Minnesota and elsewhere and after having made the round trip one division of the delegates decided upon Manitoba to where they will take their colony in the Spring. In Ottawa they made agreement with Mr. Pope who was to set apart 8 townships situated ca. 25 miles from Fort Gary for the exclusive occupation of these Germans. Shantz learned by letter from Russia that about 700 families intend to leave in the Spring to arrive in Fort Gary about June 1st.]

"Now, when these people arrive they will be without shelter until they can erect small houses upon their land—which will take at least several months. The land is too distant from Fort Garry to get shelter there.

Therefore I ask you to take some steps to secure construction of temporary shelter upon the land which these people are to occupy.

The agent at Winnipeg should build a number of board shanties in the Spring. Lumber could be sold to them when they begin to build.

Such assistance would induce more Mennonites to come to Manitoba and these will be followed by Germans from my own county instead of going off in the U. S. A. as they have done by scores during the past 10 years.

Please answer me on this proposition so that Shantz can inform his correspondent in Russia.

If Board Shanties can not be erected perhaps canvass tents might be lent for a time."

Wm. Hespeler to Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Jan. 16, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., #9941.

[Expects large number of Immgs unless the commencing of **Canad Pacific Railroad** should not take place this year.

Immigrant sheds fitted up here are not sufficient.

Letter from J. Y. Shantz Berl. Ont. and "a Menn. who has proved to be of great service in furthering immigration of the Russ. Mennonites to this province" suggests the most advantageous and benevolent scheme.

Shantz with a party of friends are willing to erect necessary number of **reception houses** upon reserves located by Department.

Will give use of buildings to arriving friends for 5 years on condition that buildings along with ¼ section of land with cash building shall be the property of parties erecting buildings.

Hespeler recommends "this to be the greatest guarantee to secure those valuable settlers for this province".]

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 11th February, 1874, to Jacob E. Klotz, Preston, Ontario.

Source:

Ibid: Letter Book Number 8, page 56.

. . . you are appointed as special immigration agent of this Department at Hamburg for a period of six months.

Your duties will be the same as described in my letter to you of 17th January, 1872 and you are specially directed to bestow particular attention to the embarkation of the Menonites who may sail from Hamburg for Canada.

. . . . . .

John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 13th March, 1874 to J. E. Klotz, Hamburg.

Source:

Ibid., Letter Book Number 8, page 101.

I have the honour by request of the Minister of Agriculture to inform you that the price at which Menonite Immigrants will be carried from Hamburg to Quebec is £ 5. Stg.

The arrangements made by the Department for the carriage of this class of immigrants is exclusively with the Dominion Line.

The Agents of that line at Hamburg will be instructed to receive your orders on Warrants to forward the Menonites at the price named, which they will pay to the Agent at Hamburg.

You will further please to give to each of the Menonites, letters to Mr. L. Stafford, the Govt. Agent at Quebec, who will receive orders as to the further arrangements to conduct them to Manitoba in the terms of my letter of 26th July, 1873 to the Menonite delegates who came to Ottawa. A copy of this letter is sent to you herewith for your information.

Isaac E. Bowman, M. P., for Waterloo to Hon. A. Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada, House of Commons, April 1, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., 10348.

[Refers to large number of German emigrants expected to arrive in Manitoba from Russia this spring or early part of summer. Shantz of Berlin, acting on behalf of these immigrants is quite confident of the large number to arrive. He desires that preparations be made for their reception. American Emigration Agents, says Shantz, are making the most strenuous efforts, offering great inducements to induce these people to go to Dakota instead where a large section of the same class of people have decided to settle.

Shantz fears that unless some shelter is provided for them on the ground which they will occupy they will be discouraged and go to Dakota and join their brethren there.

The Government, Shantz suggests, should instruct its agent in Fort Garry to purchase common pine lumber, get it transported to locality to be occupied by these people and put up into sheds or broad shanties so they may find shelter from the weather when they arrive with the understanding that they shall take the lumber and pay for it the price which it cost to put it upon ground. Or the Government should loan them tents until they get houses erected.]

Jacob E. Klotz, Emigration Agent, Dominion of Canada, to John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Hamburg, 16th April, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., Number 10720.

My letter from the 4th instant will no doubt be received by you in due course.

Last week I had a letter from Cr. Toews, Jetkaterinoslaw, and learn from such that the Menonites have great trouble in procuring their Passports from the Russian Government. He states that the intending emigrants have more than six weeks past sent the necessary papers to the Minister attending to such affairs, but not a single word has been heard since. When writing the above letter, Mr. Toews was at the above named place to enquire into the reason of the delay, but had not at the time of writing received any satisfactory information.

He also states that a Mr. Hiller from New York was in his section and it appears that this gentleman has in very strong terms denounced the "Dawson Route". Mr. Toews very pressingly asks me to give him a correct idea of said route. He says "I have not given particular credence to what Mr. Hiller said, but if the Dawson route presents any such difficulties as represented we would rather evade such a route". As far as their passports are concerned I could give little or no assistance. I recommended Mr. Toews to go and see the English Consul at Berdiansk, that since the Menonites from his section intends going to Canada the English Consul might be in a position to assist them.

In reference to the Dawson route I gave him full and explicit information and explanation which I hope and have no doubt in saying will drive any antagonistic ideas about said route from his mind. Mr. Toews will show my letter to any one interested. I also told him who this Mr. Hiller is and, that anything this gentleman or anyone else says against Canada or the route to Manitoba is done so only in the interest of the Steamer Lines running to New York and in the interest of American Railways. (I happen to know who this Mr. Hiller is) I have given Mr. Toews information as to the whole route from Hamburg to Manitoba, as also a synopsis of the contract made between the Canadian Government and Klaasen et al.

Any comments from the Department in reference to the above will be thankfully received and acted upon.

John Dyke, Special Emigration Agent at Constantinople to E. Jenkins, Esq., M. P. Agent General for the Dominion of Canada, April 24th, 1874.

. . . Having heard from a private source that a passenger broker here had received letters last week from Berdiansk treating for the passages of three hundred families [Mennonites] to America Mr. Papa Pappayanis Agent sent for him and we obtained the following information. That none of these parties had started, neither would they be ready until the 20th of May. We at once sent a telegram asking one of them to come to Constantinople and settle terms by next steamer, which will arrive here in about ten days, and expect a reply tomorrow. I would thank you to please telegraph me immediately upon receipt of this letter the price of passage assisted from Liverpool to Quebec and Manitoba. From present appearances I have reason to believe all my communications with the Mennonites have been intercepted by the Russian Govt. Although these people will not be forcibly prevented from emigrating, yet every obstacle will be placed in their way. I should have proceeded to Berdiansk had I not been certain of imprisonment. . . .

Jacob E. Klotz. Emigration Agent, Dominion of Canada to John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa. Hamburg, April 28, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., Number 10701.

. . . I now beg to draw your attention to the intrigues that are being perpetrated against Canada in the matter of the Menonites emigration to Manitoba.

A few days ago Mr. Falck showed me a letter written to his firm by Mr. David Klaassen, (one of the parties that contracted with the Canadian Govt.) and from this letter I learn that of the 47 families Mr. Klaassen had under his direct leadership 30 families have been dissuaded remaining at a certain place from where they intend sending a deputation to Manitoba to investigate said Province and await report of such deputation before proceeding there en masse. The remaining 17 families appear to remain true to their first intentions and Mr. K. thinks that after having a letter of explanation from me he may be able to bring back some of the deserters.

The treatment on English Steamers was pictured to them in the blackest of colours and the route from Quebec to Manitoba was also pictured to them as very horrible and this vile talk has found credulous people to accept such as truth. I have immediately after reading said letter written very lengthy on the subject—as regards the treatment on the English Steamers, and concerning the trip from Quebec to Fort Garry and also explained the reason why certain parties spoke in such vile terms against English Steamers and why they denounce the idea of Menonite emigration to Canada. My letter will be read by a number of Menonites and have every reason to believe it will have a good effect and more particularly since they withheld for explanations from me. These parties intriguing against us being such interested in the German Line of Steamers, in American Railways and Land Agents must find it rather difficult to dissuade even through means mentioned the Menonites from their intentions in going to Manitoba, and these interested parties have struck on a new idea:—viz;

Yesterday morning I received a letter from Mr. C. Toews his brother also writing a long letter, and learn from these the vile and base means used by our opponents to dissuade the Menonites from going to Manitoba. Besides using the means above enumerated they make these poor people believe that the Religious Liberty they are so anxious to obtain cannot be found in Canada. These Agents whoever they are are so base and impious as to tell the Menonites that the English Govt. has never yet kept their word in any promise made, and would not keep promise with Menonites. They are also made to believe that the main features of the route through Canada to Manitoba and of Manitoba itself are privation, starvation and great bodily danger on account of Indians who are represented to the Menonites to be in the war path constantly and massacre the white man wherever he is to be found. That I have refuted all these statements not as untruths, but as base lies you can be assured. I have mentioned to Mr. Toews that if he substitutes the words "The west of the United States" for the word Canada or Manitoba in this Indian story that it will then not be far from the truth, since all the bloodshed and massacre between Indians and whitemen has been in the western States. I have referred Mr. Toews for the substantiation of my assertion to New York and Chi-

cago papers not many months old. I have also mentioned that the United States Govt. have not many months since sent a large army to the west to protect the settler and his property. My letter to Mr. Toews I am satisfied will have the desired effect since he begs information and explaination of me.

The Passports have not yet been received by the Menonites.

By the foregoing you will notice that the prospects of getting the Menonites or a large share of them are not so favourable as anticipated a few months ago. With careful and deligent work we may yet obtain our object and the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture may rest assured that everything in my part will be done to obtain said object. Anything in this matter of importance occuring I will at once communicate to the Department. It may be necessary or advisable for me to go to Russie concerning these Menonites, but of course, cannot venture to go unless by consent of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture. I would therefore kindly ask you to place this matter before the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture and cable me the decision. I would of course never think of going amongst the Menonites in South Russia unless absolute necessity demanded such. . . .

Jacob E. Klotz to Edward Jenkins, Esq., M. P. Agent General for Canada, Hamburg 30th May, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., 10,935.

Beg to acknowledge receipt of letter from Mr. John Dyke dated 26th inst. from your office concerning 300 Menonites families that have contracted for their ocean passage with a certain firm of this place called Bolton, and beg to reply that I have been in possession of such information sometime before receiving said letter from Mr. Dyke.

I have yesterday received letters from leading members of the Menonites, who will in a short time be ready to start with a considerable number for Manitoba. Asking me how and in what shape 100,000 rubels can be exchanged to the best advantage I at once advised them to bring their rubels to Hamburg and that I would see them all properly served as to the exchange of their money. I have also received notice from another party for the exchange of 30,000 rubels, also parties for Canada. This large amount of rubels requiring at the spur of the moment a large sum of Amer. Gold. I deemed it prudent to at once commence securing gold for June delivery and have already secured about $20,000 Amer. gold and hope through the assistance of the Agent to secure the required amount. Should such the buying be postponed to the last minute the holders of gold would at once raise the price. The Menonites wishing to have as much Canadian paper as possible such being easier to carry than gold. I therefore beg to en quire if such can be had in London and at what price. Also wish to know if the California gold notes (bills) California being the only State in the Union having gold currency and if it would be advisable to give the Menonites such California gold notes in exchange for their rubels. These people confiding and trusting the whole matter to me I am in duty bound to act in their interest and to their best advantage. Looking forward to an early answer.

P. S. Please also to give me the price of California Gold now in London.

Report of a Committee of Privy Council *approved by Governor General in Council, May 19, 1874.*

Source:

Ibid., 10729.

[In agreement with Bowman's letter Shantz may erect houses on land granted to him.

It is proposed in the event of this arrangement being entered into with Shantz that the deed for the land be issued to Shantz at the end of 5 years upon the conditions involved having been fulfilled.]

J. E. Bowman to Letellier de. St. Just, Minister of Agriculture, May 8, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., 10645.

[Shantz received letters from Russia saying: that on or about the 1st of the present month over 100 families were to leave Russia with the settled determination to go to Manitoba through Quebec and Ontario and that from one to two hundred families would follow them each season for the next 5 or 6 years.

Shantz is also informed that the American agents are doing their best to persuade these people to go to parts of the U. S. A. instead of Manitoba. That is of the highest importance that some provision culd be made to shelter these immigrants as they arrive from time to time during the next 6 years.

Shantz desires that:

1. Government give him 4 quarter sections of land in locality where these people are to settle which would embrace 640 acres; (now worth $640 at the present Government rate.) free of charge.

2. Shantz will bind himself to put up 4 houses one on each section, each house 100 feet long and 20 feet in width, divided into 12 rooms so as to accomodate 48 families in all. Understanding that these houses together with the land under cultivation around them shall be used during a term of not less than 5 years from completion for occupation and used by these immigrants each season as they arrive. Those arriving this season would occupy them until they have had time to build houses of their own, so that they could always be vacant for fresh arrivals.

Shantz would either give bonds for the performance of his part of the contract or the deed for the land could be withheld until the five years expired.

If you accept this, Shantz will proceed at once and commence construction. Bowman recommends proposal. If Manitoba Land Act does not provide for such a case could you not charge Shantz with the price of the land and allow him the same sum for the use of these tenements.]

Jacob E. Klotz. Emmigration Agent, Dominion of Canada to John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa. Hamburg, August 25, 1874.

Source:

Ibid., Number 11525.

I take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you in a subject concerning which I have some time ago communicated to the Agent General and such is in reference to the indigent Menonites of South Russia who are anxious to emigrate to Canada. You are no doubt aware that the Menonite Board of Guardians of America have arranged to assist, so far about 300 families in indigent circumstances, to emigrate from Russia to America. I have seen from a letter written by you of the members of said Board, in the United States to his friends in Russia, that the assistance granted, is intended for those going to Canada as well as for those going to the states. Similar intimation I have from letters written by Mr. Schantz. Now this intention on the part of the

Board of Guardians looks very nice on paper, but in practice it cannot be performed to the advantage of Canada, since the arrangements made for the conveying of the indigent Menonites is with the German Line which sails to New York. If the indigent Menonite or any of the others intending to settle in Canada adopt this route to get there, I have my own doubts whether any of them will ever see Canada, since at the Port of New York there will be able parties to bring charge of all the arrivals and do their utmost to keep all these emigrants in the United States. I have very recently written to Mr. Schantz concerning this matter, and having a few days ago received from one of the Elders a very long letter concerning the indigent Menonites anxious to emigrate to Canada, I address this letter to the Department in the matter at issue. This Elder informs me that so far over 100 families have declared their intentions in favour of Canada and intend settling in Manitoba, provided some assistance is extended to them, otherwise they will be obliged to remain in Russia. This Elder also informs me that at the time when writing they are all busy at harvest in his particular section, and so soon as harvest is over they would all congregate and declare their intention as to which country each would emigrate and report accordingly. He also asked me if the Canadian Govt. could or would do anything as regards assisting them to emigrate. I wrote this Elder that I had written to Mr. Schantz concerning the matter and that I would also write to the Canadian Government in the subject and communicate to him so soon as I received intimation.

From another Department (Colony) in the South of Russia I have very encouraging news, which I have received yesterday. One of the leading members of the Menonites in that section informs me that the idea among the intending emigrants, of going to Canada (Manitoba) is getting livelier every day and that a large number will emigrate to the Province of Manitoba next spring. This party also asked me whether the promises given by the Canadian Govt. to the Menonites in reference to the conveying of the Menonites to Manitoba as also those referring to the Free Grants would be extended to such that emigrate only as far as Ontario this Fall and remaining there over winter and proceeding to Manitoba early next spring.

I may mention here that communication has been had with Mr. Schantz as to the advisability of some 30 families emigrating this Fall and remaining in Ontario over winter and proceed to Manitoba early in Spring; their intention for so doing being to save time. Mr. Schantz has as I am informed advised them to come, and that he would find habitation for the number asked for etc. during the coming winter. These families will have all their affairs settled very soon and hence their eagerness to emigrate this Fall as far as Ontario, as also in view of thereby gaining a few months on their arrival in Manitoba next year. The party writing to me I have informed to the following effect; that the promises made by the Canadian Govt. in a letter addressed to Messrs. David Klaassen etc., Menonite Delegates from Southern Russia and dated Ottawa, 26 July, 1873 —would to the best of my knowledge and believe be extended also to those who emigrate only as far as Ontario this fall and proceeding to Manitoba next Spring.

So far about 1500 souls of the Menonite persuasion have left this Port via Liverpool to Quebec en route to Manitoba. They having embarked in different lots. I have in due course telegraphed to the Department the departure of all that have so far left booked to Quebec.

ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1946-47

Silas Hertzler

In the October, 1947, issue of the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW an article appeared, which summarized the attendance in the twenty-eight Mennonite elementary schools for which the writer could secure the information. A few small high schools were included in that study, in cases where only a few high-school students attended what is chiefly an elementary school. The Johnstown Mennonite School is the only one in that group where a full four-year high-school course was conducted. For the sake of completeness the data for this school are also included in this study. The article referred to is the first such study of these elementary schools which has been prepared. The present study of attendance in Mennonite secondary schools and colleges has appeared annually since 1928.

Twenty-three secondary schools and colleges sent information for the school year 1946-47. The names and addresses of these schools are as follows:

Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, Omaha, Nebraska
Lancaster Mennonite School, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Freeman Junior College and Academy, Freeman, South Dakota
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Immanuel Bible School and Academy, Reedley, California
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Emmanuel Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Rockway Mennonite School, Kitchener, Ontario
Mountain View Bible School, Didsbury, Alberta, Canada
Western Mennonite School, Salem, Oregon
Meade Bible Academy, Meade, Kansas
Mennonite Biblical Seminary and Mennonite Bible School, Chicago, Illinois
Johnstown Mennonite School, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania
Berean Academy, Elbing, Kansas

The Mennonite Bible Academy of North Newton, Kansas, was discontinued with the school year 1945-46. The Zoar Academy at Inman, Kansas, did not operate for the school year 1946-47. Two new Kansas Mennonite high schools began with the school year 1946-47. They are the Meade Bible Academy and the Berean Academy. The Western Mennonite School and the Johnstown Mennonite School are included for the first time this year, though the former began with the school year 1945-46, and the latter began with the school year 1944-45. Besides these changes, two new Canadian high schools, conducted by the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, are included this year for the first time. They are the Emmanuel Bible School in Ontario, and the Mountain View Bible School in Alberta.

Table I gives an over-all picture of attendance in the 23 secondary schools and colleges included in the study. For the school year 1946-47 the attendance reported is 1,271 more than for the previous year. This is accounted for in part by the increased interest in education, as well as by increased economic possibilities for financing such schooling. In addition the several new schools mentioned, added to the total. Attendance on the college level is summarized in detail, by classes, in Table II. The total increase of 1,091, over last year, is perhaps due to added interest in higher education, since no new schools were added on the college level. Table III shows how the 2,211 high-school students were classified by years and by schools. On this level 256 students were in attendance in the new schools included for the first time in this report. This is 76 more than the increase in high-school attendance shown over the school year 1945-46.

The total Mennonite attendance is analyzed in Table IV. There are 22 separate classifications used, though one of these is the unclassified list, since 244 students were merely reported as Mennonites, without any indication as to the exact group to which they belonged. The Central Conference of Mennonites is now a part of the General Conference. The latter group is 506 larger than for the previous year; part of this increase is due to the union of the two Mennonite groups. The 14 European Mennonites in American colleges are all included under one head, though this may not be very accurate. Forty-two distinct Christian bodies are listed in Table V, which shows how many non-Mennonite students attend these schools. This is in addition to two Jewish students, and to numerous students for whom the information concerning church affiliation was not available. Fifty-seven students belonged officially

to no Christian group. The increase in non-Mennonite attendance over the previous year was 203.

The information in Table VI shows that Mennonite students have their homes in 34 states, in the District of Columbia, and in five provinces of Canada. Nine foreign countries are represented also, with 42 students living in these countries. A few of these so-called foreign students are children of American and Canadian missionaries. The homes of the 685 non-Mennonite students are shown in Table VII. These students live in 29 states, in addition to Puerto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as in 5 provinces of Canada. In addition 8 foreign countries are represented. In Table VIII an attempt is made to organize by institutions the number of students of college grade in each of the Mennonite schools. Inadequate information causes minor irregularities, which are described in the footnotes. In Table IX the same information is given for Mennonite students not of college grade. The information concerning the number of men and the number of women is very incomplete.

Attendance in summer session is not large. Included in the 203 students who attended the Goshen summer school were 57 students who attended the spring term of three weeks, but did not attend the longer summer term of nine weeks. Table X shows the summer session details. Table XI tabulates what information could be secured on the number of men and the number of women. The facts are incomplete because several schools gave totals only, without indicating exact statistics. Table XII adds the attendance for 1946-47 in summary fashion to the same details for the previous 18 years. A separate column has been added this year for graduate students. Three schools report the 47 students who have previously completed bachelor's degrees, as compared with 27 for 1945-46.

The degrees and diplomas granted are shown in Table XIII. The B.D. and the M.R.E. are given for distinctly graduate work. The Th.B. degree represents one year of specialized Bible work beyond the B.A., at Goshen. At the other schools it still seems to be equivalent only to the B.A. degree with a Bible major.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

School	Graduate Bible	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Goshen College	15	752		77[10]	21[4]	865
Bethel College		512			133[13]	645
Eastern Mennonite School		173	279	92	95[3]	639
Tabor College	6	348	65			419
Hesston College and Bible School		93	208	46[6]	28[7]	375
Bluffton College		303			45[11]	348
Grace Bible Institute		278			2[12]	280[5]
Lancaster Mennonite School			204			204
Freeman Junior College		44	124		15[2]	183[1]
Rosthern Junior College		66	106			172
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			148			148
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		50	96			146
Mennonite Brethren Bible College		134[8]				134
Emmanuel Bible School			96			96
Oklahoma Bible Academy			67			67
Iowa Mennonite School			56			56
Rockway Mennonite School			50			50
Mountain View Bible School			42[9]			42
Western Mennonite School			41			41
Meade Bible Academy			35			35
The Mennonite Biblical Seminary	26	5[5]				31
Johnstown Mennonite School			26			26
Berean Academy			16			16
Total	47	2762	1659	215	335	5018

1 Some data received from Freeman College Catalogue, May 31, 1947, p. 35.
2 Evening classes below college level.
3 Correspondence students not of college grade.
4 Correspondence and music students not of college grade.
5 Bible students of college grade.
6 Special Bible term students for six weeks.
7 Correspondence and extension students not of college grade.
8 Bible students presumably of college grade.
9 Nineteen regular high-school, 23 Bible students.
10 62 full-time students for 6 weeks, 15 part-time evening students for 6 weeks.
11 41 special students not of college grade.
12 Summer students not counting duplicates.
13 Music students not of college grade.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

College	Post Graduates	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Total
Goshen	15	74	94	123	250	91	86[3]	34[4]	767
Bethel		56	87	98	196	25	50[5]		512
Tabor	6	22	30	80	177	21	18[1]		354
Bluffton		29	37	61	154	6	16[1]		303
Grace		30	38	57	153		2[8]		280
E.M.S.		8	10	35	96	21		3[2]	173
M.B.B.C.			12	41	60	21			134
Hesston				23	69			1[2]	93[6]
Rosthern					66				66
M.C.I.					50				50
Freeman				7	35	2			44
M.B.S.	26[7]		2	2	1				31
Total	47	219	310	527	1307	187	172	38	2807

1 Exclusive of duplicates.

2 Extension students of college grade.

3 Spring and summer students.

4 17 correspondence students and 17 extension students. All of college grade.

5 Includes summer attendance for 1947.

6 Includes 6 freshmen and 3 sophomores in the Christian Workers' Course. Presumably all of college grade.

7 11 juniors; 6 middlers; 2 seniors; 7 part-time.

8 It is assumed that 2 summer students are of college grade.

TABLE III

Enrollment by Classes, Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.S.	91	70	60	48	10	92[4]	95[5]	466
Hesston	76	53	35	44		46[4]	28[1]	282
Lancaster	50	41	46	67				204
Immanuel	30	38	39	41				148
Freeman	33	20	30	40			16[7]	139
Bethel							133[3]	133
Rosthern		68	28	10				106
Goshen						77	21[2]	98
Emmanuel		20	16	21	39[6]			96
M.C.I.		40	31	25				96
Oklahoma	16	21	18	11	1			67
Tabor	35	15	15					65
Iowa		11	29	16				56
Rockway		11	19	20				50
Bluffton							45	45
Mt. View	9	11	6	16				42
Western		1	15	25				41
Meade		15	14	6				35
Johnstown	4	4	10	8				26
Berean			9	7				16
Total	344	439	420	405	50	215	338	2211

1 Correspondence students, not counting duplicates.
2 19 correspondence students, not of college grade.
3 Non-credit music students, not of college grade.
4 Six weeks' Bible term students.
5 Correspondence students, exclusive of duplicates.
6 Evening classes.
7 Fifteen evening students; one extension student.

TABLE IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

Denomination	Goshen	E.M.S.	Bethel	Tabor	Hesston	Grace	Lancaster	Bluffton	Freeman	Rosthern	M.C.I.	M.B.B.C.	Immanuel	Emmanuel	Oklahoma	Iowa	Rockway	Western	Mt. View	Meade	M.B.S.	Johnstown	Berean	Total
(Old) Mennonite	588	562	10	1	272	..	200	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	52	37	41	..	..	..	26	..	1792
General Conference	26	..	388	10	41	148	..	167	98	145	79	9	3	2	62	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	16	1222
Mennonite Brethren	1	..	4	309	1	12	..	..	10	14	43	107	92	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	598
Menn. Unclassified	..	8	133	4	391	..	..	..	43	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	244
Mennonite Br. Christ.	26	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..	..	35	..	..	..	..	145
Evan. Mennonite Brethren	16	..	3	13	..	55	..	..	5	..	..	5	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	22	..	..	..	123
Krim. Mennonite Brethren	3	..	..	40	..	6	..	..	6	..	..	1	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	77
Amish Mennonite	1	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
Conservative Amish Mennonite	5	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
European Mennonite	6	..	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Defenseless Mennonite	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
United Mennonite	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bergtaler Mennonite	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Old Order Amish	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Kleine Gemeinde	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sommerfelder Mennonite	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sterling Ave. Mennonite	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Weavertown Amish	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Church of God in Christ Menn.	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Hutterthal	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Neukirchner	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	675	630	546	379	355	225	202	171	162	160	139	129	117	86	65	56	50	41	37	35	31	26	16	4333

[1] Thirty-eight were extension students supposedly Mennonites.

TABLE V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

	Goshen	Bluffton	Bethel	Grace	Tabor	Immanuel	Freeman	Hesston	Rosthern	Emmanuel	E.M.S.	M.C.I.	M.B.B.C.	Mt. View	Lancaster	Oklahoma			Total
Methodist	45	37	29	2	2	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	123
Baptist	14	13	6	13	8	1	..	2	..	3	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	64
Unaffiliated	9	..	..	3	17	18	..	5	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
Unknown	9	18	13	..	..	9	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	52
Presbyterian	8	16	9	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	41
Lutheran	11	8	3	2	3	..	2	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
United Brethren	8	19	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
Evangelical	8	7	5	2	3	..	..	4	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	32
Brethren	23	3	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Not Given	..	..	..	2	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Roman Catholic	4	9	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Christian	6	3	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Evangelical Reformed	2	13	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Congregational	1	8	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Interdenominational	3	..	..	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Disciples of Christ	5	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Congregational Christian	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Church of God	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Episcopalian	2	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Nazarene	1	1	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Brethren in Christ	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Church of Christ	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Christian Missionary Alliance	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	5
Free Methodist	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	4
Assembly of God	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Christian Science	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
United Church of Canada	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Reformed	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Friends	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Apostolic Christian	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Missionary Church	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Waldensian	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Hebrew	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Pilgrim Holiness	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Seventh-Day Adventists	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Independent	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Reformed Evangelical	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Catholic	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Presbyterian	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Pentecostal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wesleyan Methodist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Associated Gospel Churches	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
African Episcopalian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Evan. Russian Baptist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dunkard Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Swed. Free Evangelical	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Belgian Gospel Mission	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	190	177	99	55	40	31	21	20	12	10	9	7	5	5	2	2	..	..	685

TABLE VI

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1946-47

	Goshen	E.M.S.	Bethel	Tabor	Hesston	Grace	Lancaster	Bluffton	Freeman	Rosthern	M.C.I.	M.B.B.C.	Immanuel	Emmanuel	Oklahoma	Iowa	Rockway	Western	Mt. View	Meade	M.B.S.	Johnstown	Berean	Total
Kansas	21	1	285	151	148	52	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	..	..	..	35	9	..	16	729
Pennsylvania	94	217	..	..	12	2	199	21	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	26	..	573
Indiana	226	4	4	..	16	3	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	269
Ohio	114	40	1	..	7	6	..	98	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	267
Virginia	7	199	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	209
Ontario	17	28	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	6	6	12	..	83	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	205
Manitoba	1	..	2	5	..	6	..	1	..	2	132	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	195
California	2	2	8	40	2	7	..	3	..	..	..	..	117	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	185
Oklahoma	..	..	22	84	6	15	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	184
South Dakota	..	1	7	8	..	13	..	..	152	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	181
Saskatchewan	..	..	11	6	..	4	..	1	..	119	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	167
Iowa	31	15	4	1	26	11	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	144
Not Given	..	..	133	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	133
Minnesota	16	1	8	27	9	40	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	111
Oregon	14	9	1	6	26	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	..	..	2	..	..	109
Alberta	1	3	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	25	1	19	..	..	..	..	2	..	28	..	..	..	..	99
Illinois	63	1	2	..	..	3	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	88
Nebraska	3	..	17	12	18	21	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
Maryland	2	57	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	61
Michigan	17	23	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
British Columbia	..	..	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Montana	2	2	3	9	12	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	41
North Dakota	2	1	..	5	12	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37

Colorado	13	..	..	1	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Idaho	1	..	9	..	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	21
Missouri	2	6	1	..	6	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	20
Washington	..	..	3	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	1	..	..	18
New York	6	10	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Holland	6	..	4	..	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	16
India	3	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	8
Texas	1	..	2	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Paraguay	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	7
Florida	1	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Delaware	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Mississippi	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Argentina	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
France	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Africa	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arkansas	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Georgia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
West Virginia	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Belgium	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Brazil	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
China	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Col.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Louisiana	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New Jersey	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Tennessee	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
North Carolina	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	675	630	546	379	355	225	202	171	162[1]	160	139	129	117	86	65	56	50	41	37	35	31	26[2]	16	4	333

[1] It is surmised that one student from Arizona and one from India are Mennonites.

[2] Assumed that all students are Mennonites, and from Pennsylvania.

TABLE VII

STATES, PROVINCES, AND COUNTRIES FROM WHICH NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS COME, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1946-47

States	Bethel	Goshen	Bluffton	Grace	Tabor	Immanuel	Freeman	Hesston	Rosthern	Emmanuel	E.M.S.	M.C.I.	M.B.B.C.	Mt. View	Lancaster	Oklahoma	Total
Ohio	1	9	146	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	157
Indiana	..	150	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	153
Kansas	70	1	..	2	22	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	105
California	..	3	2	1	1	31	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39
Nebraska	..	..	1	21	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
South Dakota	..	..	..	1	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Pennsylvania	1	7	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	18
No Report	13	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	16
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	14
Illinois	1	5	4	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Manitoba	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2	..	..	..	13
Minnesota	..	..	..	10	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Ontario	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Iowa	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Puerto Rico	2	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Oklahoma	1	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8
New York	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Alberta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	5
Michigan	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Virginia	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	4
Italy	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
North Dakota	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Colorado	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Montana	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Maryland	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Florida	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Mexico	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Lebanon	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
West Virginia	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Belgium	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Oregon	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
British Colum.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
Texas	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
France	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
New Jersey	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hawaiian Is.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Wisconsin	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
China	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Louisiana	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Syria	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Arizona	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Connecticut	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kentucky	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Nevada	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Holland	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	99	192	177	53	40	31	21[1]	20	12	10	9	7	5	5	2	2[2]	685

[1] It is assumed that all non-Mennonite students are from South Dakota.

[2] Assumed that all non-Mennonite students are from Oklahoma.

TABLE VIII

MENNONITE STUDENTS OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1946-47

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	269	257	577[1]
Bethel			413[2]
Tabor	162	158	320
Grace	104	121	225
E.M.S.	79	92	171
Bluffton	82	68	156[3]
M.B.B.C.			129[2]
Hesston	48	38	86
Rosthern	34	27	61
M.C.I.	24	22	46
Freeman	27	15	42
M.B.S.	22	9	31
total	851	807	2257[4]
			1658[5]

[1] Detailed statistics not given for 51 Mennonite College students.

[2] Complete information not given.

[3] 6 Mennonite students for whom detailed statistics are not given. Presumably these were college students.

[4] Vertical total.

[5] Horizontal total.

TABLE IX

MENNONITE STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1946-47

School	Men	Women	Total
E.M.S.	200	259	459
Hesston	120	149	269
Lancaster	98	104	202
Bethel	30	103	133
Freeman			120[1]
Immanuel			117[1]
Rosthern	57	42	99
Goshen	58	40	98
M.C.I.	45	48	93
Emmanuel	28	58	86
Oklahoma			65[1]
Tabor	26	33	59
Iowa			56[1]
Rockway	16	34	50
Western			41[1]
Mt. View	19	17	37[2]
Meade	18	17	35
Johnstown	12	14	26[3]
Berean	9	7	16
Bluffton	4	11	15
Total	740	936	2076[4]
			1676[5]

[1] Detailed statistics not given.

[2] Statistics not given for one Mennonite student.

[3] Assumed that all are Mennonites.

[4] Vertical total.

[5] Horizontal total.

TABLE X

Students in Summer Session, 1946, Mennonite Schools and Colleges

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	94	109	203[1]
Bethel	36	63	99[2]
Bluffton	21	39	60
Tabor	19	17	36
Grace	11	11	22
M.B.S.			2[3]
Total	181	239	422[4]
			420[5]

[1] Includes 57 spring term students who did not attend the longer summer session.
[2] Summer session 1946. All other tables for Bethel College are for the summer of 1947.
[3] Details not given.
[4] Vertical total.
[5] Horizontal total.

TABLE XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	430	435	865
Bethel	317	328	645
E.M.S.	287	352	639
Tabor	210	209	419
Hesston	179	196	375
Bluffton	183	165	348
Grace	133	147	280
Lancaster	98	106	204
Freeman			183[1]
Rosthern	96	76	172
Immanuel			148[1]
M.C.I.	71	75	146
M.B.B.C.			134[1]
Emmanuel	33	63	96
Oklahoma			67[1]
Iowa			56[1]
Rockway	16	34	50
Mt. View	20	22	42
Western			41[1]
Meade	18	17	35
M.B.S.	22	9	31
Johnstown	12	14	26
Berean	9	7	16
Total	1934	2255	5018[2]
			4189[3]

[1] Details not given. [2] Vertical total. [3] Horizontal total.

TABLE XII

Comparative Enrollment Statistics, 1928-1947

Year	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29	1025	513		847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30	1259	708		1085	609		273	882	1967
1930-31	1515	665		1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32	1337	591		944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33	1135	538		906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34	1259	476		921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35	1742	530		1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36	2274	574		1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37	2640	496		1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38	2258	680		1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39	2221	586		1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40	2164	628		1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41	2101	608		1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	2218	600		1494	887	294	143	1324	2818
1942-43	2536	424		1341	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	2408	512		1284	1161	220	255	1636	2920
1944-45	2615	579		1234	1254	392	314	1960	3194
1945-46	3265	482	27	1689	1523	215	331	2031	3747
1946-47	4333	685	47	2760	1659	215	335	2211	5018

TABLE XIII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1946-47

Degree	Goshen	M.B.S.	Tabor	Bethel	Bluffton	E.M.S.	Grace	Hesston	Freeman	Oklahoma	Johnstown	Immanuel	Total
B.D.	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
M.R.E.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Th.B.	5	..	6	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	19
B.A.	55	..	13	23	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	99
B.S. in Education	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
B.S. in Home Econ.	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B.S. in Music	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Business	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.S. in Nursing	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Associate in Arts	11	..	7	..	..	..	..	11	5	..	..	..	34
A.A. in Bible	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
Jr. College	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Jr. College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Two-Year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Christian Workers	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4
3-Yr. Dip., Bible (College)	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	26
Graduate in Theology	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
One-Year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	11
One-Year Secretarial	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Academy	..	..	15	14	..	81	..	74	32	20	4	..	240
Elem. Bible, 3 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15
Elem. Bible, 2 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	5	11
Total	113	2	43	44	13	97	30	88	50	20	4	20	524

BOOK REVIEW

Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine. By JOHN CHRISTIAN WENGER, Professor of Theology and Philosophy, Goshen College Biblical Seminary. Scottdale, Pa.; Herald Press, 1947. Pp. 258. $2.25.

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier work with the same title. As its title suggests, it is not meant to be a detailed history of the whole Mennonite Church, in all its various ramifications, but rather a survey of the essentials of the Mennonite faith, and its later expansion throughout the world—rather a handbook of Mennonitism, comprehensive and all inclusive as to fundamentals, but omitting nonessential details.

And so, Dr. Wenger stresses especially the beginnings, the foundation events of the church, as well as the distinctive and characteristic beliefs and doctrines which set it apart from the other churches, giving less space to the expansion of this faith across Europe and America during later years. The author does not neglect, however, mentioning such later events as influenced in one way or another the general course of its history.

Logically, the early chapters deal successively with the decline of early New Testament Christianity during the Middle Ages, the partial restoration of primitive Christianity by the state Reformation churches, and finally the attempt on the part of the Anabaptists to break completely with the old order and restore once more the New Testament church on the Apostolic model. Special attention is given to such Anabaptist leaders as Grebel, Manz, Marpeck, Sattler, and later to Menno Simons. The chapters on faith and doctrine are based largely on the writings of such early leaders as Menno Simons, Dirck Philips, Conrad Grebel, Pilgram Marpeck, various martyrs as they were recorded in the *Martyrs Mirror,* and several early confessions of faith, especially that of Dordrecht of 1632.

In the American field, which is necessarily brief, Dr. Wenger stresses especially the older Pennsylvania contingent of Mennonitism, and the older branch of the church, sometimes called for convenience the "Old" Mennonites, to distinguish them from the later branches, but includes in his description all these other branches also, with a sense of impartiality and objectivity not always found in general treatises of this nature.

The author's objectivity does not preclude him, however, from expressing his concern for the dangers the entire denomination may face as it moves out from the rather sheltered position it has been able to enjoy in the past, into the more open and intimate social and industrial contacts of the world at large in the new social order. In a challenging, concluding chapter entitled "The Outlook for the Future" Dr. Wenger lists what he calls the assets and the liabilities of the future. Under the former head he places high moral standards, a deep inner piety, strong family life, church loyalty, a growing consciousness of the stewardship of their material possessions, and a high standard of excellence as farmers and industrialists—all these traits, a part of their traditional and historic inheritance. The great challenge, on the other hand, confronting the Mennonite Church the author says, is "to preserve faithfully essential Mennonitism in a changing culture, and in the face of the breakdown of those sociological barriers which formerly served as effective aids in the maintenance" of the faith.

On the whole this is perhaps the best handbook on the essentials of Mennonitism that has yet appeared. It is concise, though comprehensive enough as to essentials, scholarly, accurate, fair and objective as to all the different groups that make up the denomination as a whole, and well written. It is recommended by this reviewer to the general reader, Mennonite or non-Mennonite, who wants to know who the Mennonites are, where they came from and why, and what they believe; and to all those Mennonites who are concerned that the faith of the fathers may not be lost.

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